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## THE HAVERFORD SYMPOSIUM

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THE HAVERFORD SYMPOSIUM  
ON  
ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE

BY

WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT, GEORGE A. BARTON, HENRY J. CADBURY,  
JOHN W. FLIGHT, ALBRECHT GOETZE, THEOPHILE J. MEEK,  
JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, JOHN A. WILSON,  
and ELIHU GRANT, *editor*.

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## PREFACE

The Bible has had large place in the affections of Haverfordians. Instruction in it and in its related subjects has been offered from the early days of the College. Its languages, its translations, its history and introduction have been taught by many men. Notable among its sponsors have been Presidents Thomas Chase, and Isaac Sharpless, Pliny Earle Chase, J. Rendel Harris, William C. Ladd, George A. Barton, Rufus M. Jones, Seth K. Gifford, and Henry J. Cadbury.

THE EDITOR.



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# THE PRESENT STATE OF SYRO-PALESTINIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

W. F. ALBRIGHT

The Johns Hopkins University

The eastern shore of the Mediterranean and its immediate hinterland have in most historical periods formed a clear geographical unit. Only by foreign intrusion in the north or south or by political action from without has this geographical unity been seriously disturbed. In the last third of the second millennium, for example, the conquest of northern Syria by the Hittites led to its inclusion in the Anatolian sphere of cultural influence, and the irruption of Israel into Palestine brought with it relative isolation of that district from the rest of Syria. The imperial conflicts between the Lagides and Seleucids caused a temporary division of the country between them, much as has happened again since the World War. This new division of the country also brings with it a curious transposition of the term "Mesopotamia," a century ago localized by most geographers in the northwestern part of the Valley of the Two Rivers, to the southeast, where it is now generally used in such a way as to coincide with "Iraq." What used to be called "Mesopotamia" now becomes "Eastern Syria" or "Upper Syria." For convenience, as well as because of the intimate relationship of northwestern Mesopotamia to Syria west of the Euphrates, it will generally be included in the scope of the present essay.

To the Syro-Palestinian geographical unity there nearly always corresponded a cultural continuum, forming a roughly homogeneous area of civilization sharply distinguished at all times from Egypt and usually from Anatolia. The cultural boundaries between Syria and Meso-

potamia were vaguer, and it is still hazardous to attempt a precise definition of them at any one period. In the time covered by our survey, it would appear that Palestine and Phoenicia frequently exhibit more common elements than either shares with central and eastern Syria, which tend to resemble the Upper Euphrates basin. Since the latter also formed part of the Mesopotamian or Sumero-Accadian cultural continuum, it is clear that our problem is relatively complex.

When we analyze the situation somewhat more closely, this complexity increases. Syria and Palestine formed the geographical centre of the greater Egypto-Mesopotamian civilization, within whose domain there was always active movement of cultural elements, tending to create an almost imperceptible synthesis. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that, as soon as we go below superficial differences of culture, we find far-reaching similarity in essentials. Arts and crafts, modes of thought and ways of expressing them wandered from land to land, from people to people, until they had permeated the whole mass. Palestine and Syria received elements of culture from every surrounding region and handed them on, somewhat altered as a rule, to other contiguous regions. For the study of comparative archaeology, as well as of the history of civilization, Syro-Palestinian archaeology has thus become invaluable. Moreover, it is only through the medium of this discipline that we can synchronize the cultural history and the political chronology of Egypt and Assyro-Babylonia. Thanks to its strategic location, as well as to the intrinsic interest of recent discoveries at such sites as Byblus, Ugarit, Dura, and Mari, Syria can now claim a position of archaeological importance which seriously threatens the prestige of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Aside from contributing to the body of data for Syrian



archaeology, Palestine has one priceless advantage—that of forming the immediate background of biblical history and literature. This has given Palestinian archaeology a somewhat factitious place, when we consider its poverty and the meagerness of finds interesting in themselves. On the other hand, the superior development of ceramic chronology in Palestine, where the pottery index was first successfully employed by Petrie in 1890, still gives it a disproportionate real value, as will be increasingly evident during this study.

The history of archaeological research in Palestine has been so often sketched that we may content ourselves here with the barest outline. Four main phases may be distinguished: 1, from the haphazard explorations of the eighteenth century through Robinson's systematic work and the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem to Petrie's first stratigraphical soundings at Tell el-Hesi in 1890; 2, from 1890 to the outbreak of the World War in 1914; 3, from 1920 to 1930, when stratigraphical research began to fix Palestinian chronology before 1700 B. C.; 4, since 1930. Among outstanding points in this record since 1890 we may stress the publication of Bliss and Macalister's *Excavations in Palestine* (1902), with its sound chronological framework (not fully accepted until over twenty years later); the beginning of properly staffed excavation at Jericho and Samaria (1907-8); the publication of Macalister's *Gezer* (1912); the beginning of excavations in the Bronze-Age strata of Beth-shan (1922); the debut of prehistoric stratigraphy in 1925; the beginning of work at Teleilat el-Ghassûl and the earlier strata of Tell Beit Mirsim in 1930; the first stratigraphic work on the periods between 3500 and 2500 B. C. at Megiddo in 1932. Characteristic of nearly all excavation in Palestine since the World War has been the systematic use of modern methods of digging and re-

cording, combined with care in dealing with pottery. Undertakings like the Oriental Institute excavation of Megiddo and the Wellcome expedition at Lachish cannot be surpassed for archaeological method in major sites anywhere in the world. Nowhere has the Reisner-Fisher type of stratigraphical work come so fully into use as in Palestine.

When we turn to Syria we find a somewhat parallel course of events in archaeological history. Here we also have four phases: 1, before the beginning of the German work at Zenjirli in 1888; 2, from 1888 to 1914; 3, from 1920 to the discovery of Râs esh-Shamrah (Ugarit) in 1929; 4, from 1929 to the present time. Before the Germans began work at Zenjirli in the far north of Syria, little had been done except in Phoenicia, where Renan had organized elaborate surface exploration, with some soundings, in 1860-61. In those days, however, so little was known about historical architecture, to say nothing of ceramic chronology, that the results of the Mission en Phénicie were relatively unimportant from the strictly archaeological point of view. At Zenjirli the German excavators, thanks principally to the skill of Koldewey, did excellent work in analyzing and reconstructing the architectural remains of the Late Hittite period, but no attention seems to have been paid to pottery even in the latest campaigns at this site. It was reserved for Garstang to introduce the pottery criterion into Syrian archaeology during his brief excavation at Sakche-gözü (1908, 1911). The British work at Carchemish (1911-14, 1920) added materially to our data for the Late Hittite age, but did not introduce new methods. Baron von Oppenheim's campaigns at Gozan (Tell Halâf) yielded sensational results (on which see below), and gave some hint of the wide areas of *terra incognita* in ancient Syria.

After the War Syrian archaeology was given a fresh

lease of life by the French mandatory government, and work was begun by the French themselves at a number of points, especially at Byblus (1921—), Kadesh on the Orontes (1921-2), Palmyra (1923—), Dura (1925, 1928—), Qatna (el-Mishrifeh: 1924, 1927-29), Til-Barsip (Tell el-Aḥmar: 1927, 1929-31), Khadattu (Arslan Tash, 1928), etc. At first these undertakings were inadequately staffed and insufficiently organized, but the lacks were gradually remedied, until the standards of archaeological work in Syria have become almost as high as in Palestine, with far more important historical and artistic results.

The beginning of excavation at Ugarit in 1929 yielded such sensational discoveries that there has been a rapid increase since then in the number of archaeological undertakings in Syria. Work at Dura had already been resumed by a well organized Franco-American expedition (1928—) and work continued at Byblus, Palmyra, and other sites previously begun. In rapid succession excavations were undertaken by the Belgians at Apamea (1930—), by the Danes at Hamath on the Orontes (1931—), by the Oriental Institute at a group of sites near Rîḥānīyeh in the Plain of Antioch (1932—), by a Franco-American expedition at Antioch (1932—), by the French at Mari (Tell el-Ḥarîrî, 1933—), by the British at Chagar Bazar in the Khābûr valley (1935—) and at various points in the Orontes valley (1936—). Among minor undertakings we may mention particularly the many stratigraphical soundings made by Du Mesnil du Buisson in various mounds in central and northern Syria, and Forrer's soundings at two mounds in the Jebel district (1934). Since 1933 the cultural sequence of periods in the third, fourth, and fifth millennia B. C. has been roughly determined.

Our survey of the actual state of Syro-Palestinian archaeology will begin with the first appearance of man

and will carry us down to about 300 A. D. It is obvious that we cannot cover so wide a territory without rather drastic curtailment, so we shall throughout subordinate the record of known facts to the discussion of problems which these new facts raise.

When we examine the present state of research in the prehistory of Palestine we cannot fail to be impressed with the extraordinary advance in knowledge since 1925, when Turville-Petre made the first stratigraphical soundings in the caves of eastern Galilee and discovered the first skull of the Mousterian Neanderthaloid of Palestine. The indefatigable excavations of Dorothy Garrod and of René Neuville in northern Judaea, south of Carmel, and in southern Galilee have built up an imposing stratigraphical edifice, unequalled elsewhere in the world for clearness and completeness. Remains of a score of Middle-Palaeolithic skeletons have shown that there were two distinct types of early man in Palestine at that time, though it is not yet certain whether they occupied Palestine successively or contemporaneously—probably the former. One of them was a close kinsman of the contemporary Neanderthal man of Europe; the other is a curious blend of Palaeanthropic and Neanthropic characters, and according to Sir Arthur Keith represents the earliest known emergence of *Homo Sapiens* (or at least of essential features of the latter), proving that the migration of our direct ancestors actually followed a northwestward direction from the hypothetical centre of diffusion in southern Asia.

The sequence of macrolithic flint cultures characterized by the hand-axe (*coup-de-poing*) and of microlithic cultures shows that Palestine lay on or near an important boundary between palaeolithic cultural areas. At present, however, it is impossible to decide between the conflicting views of the geographical school, headed by Oswald

Menghin of Vienna, and of the older chronological one, according to which the macrolithic culture is older, though in the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic ages, and in certain border areas, inversion of the normal order might well be expected.

The discovery of the Natufian culture has made the Mesolithic of Palestine classical in its significance for world-history in the transition from Palaeolithic to Neolithic. Here for the first time we have a culture with agriculture and cattle-breeding, but without pottery (and *a fortiori* without metals). Garstang's discovery of exceedingly primitive Neolithic remains at Jericho, over a stratum with degenerate Mesolithic flints, has supplemented the discovery of the Natufian man, characterized by small-boned dolichocephalic structure, which appears to be closely related to the Neolithic (Badarian) man of Egypt as well as to the human type recently discovered by Dunand in Neolithic graves at Byblus. It is probable that the earliest inhabitants of Gezer and the roughly contemporary Ghassulians belonged to the same physical group. May we suppose that this group represents the still unknown common ancestor of the Hamites of northern Africa and of the Semites of southwestern Asia? Since the only serious obstacle seems to be the difference in height, and since stature is notoriously dependent on living conditions and food, this does not seem unreasonable. But a great deal remains to be done before this assumption can be scientifically verified.

The most pressing and most elusive problems now confronting the prehistorian who deals with Palestine and Syria lie in the field of geological chronology and climatic conditions. It has thus far proved impossible to correlate the glacial phases of the Swiss Pleistocene with the pluvial phases of Palestine and Syria. After the brilliant work of Sandford and Arkell in the Nile valley there has

been an increasing tendency to make a mechanical correlation, and to establish a series of teleconnections between the glacial phases of the North Temperate Zone and the pluvial phases of the Subtropic Zone. Against this somewhat premature theory L. Picard, the talented geologist of the Hebrew University, has protested vigorously, emphasizing the fact that there is no evidence for such violent climatic oscillation between pluvial and interpluvial as is commonly supposed, and stressing the lack of data in favor of more than two (possibly three) pluvial phases corresponding to the four Swiss phases.<sup>1</sup> However, until there is general agreement among European protoarchaeologists as to whether Chellean man must be placed in the second or the third interglacial period (after a strong tendency to unite in placing him in the third, there has been a recent reaction to the second, partly because of the new Egyptian data), this geological problem must be treated with caution by the historian.

In Palestine there are excellent prospects for substantial contributions to geochronology through the accurate study of the laminations or varves produced by seasonal deposit of silt on the Dead Sea floor. Hitherto an exact determination of the thickness of the main deposit, that of the Lisân marl, as well as of the number of varves in it, is wanting. Whether borings will yield satisfactory evidence with regard to the length of time during which the present Dead Sea floor has been in process of formation, is a technical problem which only the future can decide. Meanwhile historians must be warned against premature acceptance of the conclusions of the Swedish school, now headed by Countess de Geer, who shows extraordinary boldness in setting up teleconnections of this kind. The fact that her deductions are partly based on the work of Ellsworth Huntington, now discredited in nearly all competent geographical and historical circles,

is not calculated to increase our confidence in it. Here again the future must decide.

Turning from prehistory to what we may call proto-history, the age in which came man's first experiments with community life in fixed sites (villages and towns), together with his invention of pottery and discovery of the more important metals, we are now confronted with a mass of heterogeneous data from all parts of Palestine and Syria. Thanks again to Garstang's epoch-making discoveries at Jericho in 1935-6, we can trace the principal steps in the evolution of human culture from degenerate Mesolithic through an Early Neolithic stage without pottery (the Tahunian of Neuville) to a Late Neolithic phase in which the first crude pottery was made. Then comes a period (Garstang's stratum 8), in which we have a fully developed ceramic art of definitely Chalcolithic type.

After a great deal of vacillation, there seems to be increasing agreement today on a rational nomenclature for the cultural stages under discussion. The term "Neolithic," long sadly misused by Palestinian archaeologists (with some of whom it included everything prior to the second millennium B. C.) has been revived by Garstang in the sense just outlined, which seems to be quite satisfactory, though it must be remembered that the Neolithic of Palestine and Syria is not the Neolithic of Europe, but is coeval with a late phase of the European Mesolithic. For the long period during which copper (occasionally also bronze) was known and used by more progressive or wealthier communities, though flint and obsidian (in the north) remained the principal materials for tools and weapons, the term "Chalcolithic" is better than the rival "Aeneolithic." Since it is now known that the Badarians of Egypt and the Halafians of Mesopotamia were both acquainted with the use of copper, and since

the Ghassulians of Palestine employed both copper and bronze, we must push back the beginnings of the "Chalcolithic" to before 4000 B. C., at the very latest, and probably to the first half of the fifth millennium. However, the boundary between Neolithic and Chalcolithic in Palestine and Syria must remain rather fluid, for the present. Stratum V of Ugarit and the earliest level at Tell ej-Judeideh in the Plain of Antioch may safely be considered as Neolithic; the Ghassulian and related cultures of Palestine, as well as the painted-pottery cultures of Syria, which belong to the Halafian horizon, are definitely Chalcolithic. Under no circumstances is it safe to assign a given protohistoric culture to either of the two stages simply because of the absence of copper objects in a relatively restricted area of excavations.

There was long a tendency to depress the date of the early culture of our region. So, for example, the end of the Ghassulian culture was placed by the first excavator, A. Mallon, in the first century or two of the second millennium, whereas we now know that it must antedate the end of the Egyptian Predynastic by many centuries, and cannot be lowered below 3500 B. C. at the outside; the writer would prefer a date about 4000 B. C. for its height. Similarly, Schaeffer first placed the third stratum of Ugarit in the second half of the third millennium; he now dates it in the fourth, and the writer would push it back to the first half of that millennium. We now have a well-attested relative chronology for the Chalcolithic both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, and the date of the end of this age is now practically fixed at about 3000 B. C. or a little earlier by the correlation of the historical chronologies of the two lands, in accord with the just established synchronism between the late Warka-Jemdet-Nasr civilization of Mesopotamia and the latest Predynastic of Egypt. Since cir. 2900 B. C. is the minimum date for the



rise of the First Dynasty in Egypt, which may be conservatively placed in the thirtieth century, and since the beginning of the classical Sumerian age (Mesilim phase) must also be dated shortly before cir. 3000 B. C., the synchronism in question falls roughly in the last quarter of the fourth millennium, whether we allow for a reasonable lag in the passage of common elements from Mesopotamia to Egypt, or not. It is true that acceptance of this rational minimum chronology for Egypt is not yet general, but the comparative archaeological evidence is so overwhelming that the historian cannot help but be convinced as soon as he examines the evidence.

The period of cultural synchronism between Mesopotamia and Egypt to which we have alluded is characterized in Palestine and apparently in Syria by the appearance of gray-burnished pottery, which was somewhat prematurely associated by the writer with the Uruk (Warka) ware of Babylonia. That the two wares are technically heterogeneous appears certain after Frankfort's examination of the material, but an indirect relationship is still possible. Curiously enough, the gray-burnished ware of Megiddo VII-V and of Beth-shan XVII-XVI has not yet been found in southern Palestine, and may not have penetrated that far in its southward extension. Yet it is very difficult to suppose that this phase in the north is contemporaneous with the initial phase of the Early Bronze in the south, though a certain overlap is probable enough. More stratigraphic excavation in south and central Palestine is required before this point can be settled.

Our knowledge of the Early Bronze of Palestine and Syria has been completely revolutionized since 1932. When Guy, Engberg, and Shipton uncovered a series of seven superimposed strata on the slope of the hill which bears the mound of Megiddo, they gave us the first stratigraphical evidence for the sequence of cultures between

the Ghassulian and the Middle Bronze I (stratum I-H at Tell Beit Mirsim), i. e., from before 3500 to cir. 2100 B. C. Subsequent excavations at Beth-shan (FitzGerald), Jericho (Garstang), Ai (Mme Marquet), as well as soundings at Ader, etc., have added so much to the picture that it is now possible to arrange practically the whole mass of available data from Palestine in chronological order. After tentative and incomplete sketches of the results by the writer, this task has been systematically undertaken by G. E. Wright,<sup>2</sup> who has divided the Early Bronze into four phases, which may be roughly dated as follows: E. B. I, 32nd-30th centuries B. C.; E. B. II, 30th-27th; E. B. III, 27th-24th; E. B. IV, 24th-22nd. The absolute dates are based on Egyptian synchronisms. How little was known before 1932 even about relative chronology may be illustrated from the fact that the painted pottery of Ophel, correctly dated by Vincent about 3000 B. C., was subsequently placed by Gjerstad, followed by the writer, at the end of the third millennium, and that the Khirbet-Kerak ware, first dated at Beth-shan about the beginning of the second millennium, must now be pushed back to the middle of the third, about the 27th-25th centuries B. C. The stratigraphical series at Megiddo, first supposed to have ended about 2000 B. C., is now known to close in the first quarter of the third millennium. It must, of course, be remembered that these are all minimum dates, and that if the First Dynasty proves to have flourished at a somewhat earlier date than the one held by the writer, all Palestinian dates must be correspondingly raised.

Turning to the Early Bronze of Syria, we now have splendid stratigraphical series from Tell ej-Judeideh (McEwan and Braidwood),<sup>3</sup> supplemented by the results of Forrer's soundings at Qal'at er-Rûs and Tell Sûkâs, both near Jebeleh. The former have been published in skeleton

form; the latter are soon to be published by Dr. Ann Hoskin Ehrich, under the writer's supervision. Ingholt's remarkable stratified material from Hamath, particularly important for the caliciform period in the second half of the third millennium, has not yet been described in print. When these data are augmented by the already published tomb-groups and stratigraphic material secured by Dunand at Tîl Barsip (Tell el-Aḥmar) and by Du Mesnil at Qatna and other sites in eastern and northern Syria it becomes possible to construct a good framework of Syrian pottery chronology, resting on the Palestinian foundation. It is already clear that there was somewhat of a lag between Syria and Palestine; i. e., the southward movement of pottery culture was not rapid enough to synchronize perfectly in the two countries. Thus the observations made by Frankfort with respect to the date of the Khirbet-Kerak pottery at Tell ej-Judeideh seem to show that it came in a century or two earlier in northern Syria than it did in northern and central Palestine.

The culture of the Early Bronze was much higher than we had supposed. Even the brilliant discoveries of Egyptian monuments from the Old Kingdom at Byblus since 1921 had not prepared us for the skill in building shown in such a relatively remote town as Ai before the middle of the third millennium. The great extent and superb pottery of Khirbet Kerak on the Sea of Galilee about the same time are again indications of a higher degree of civilization throughout the domain of Early-Bronze culture than was formerly believed possible. But it was reserved for Dunand to find a number of syllabic inscriptions on copper, some of considerable length, in deposits from the late third millennium at Byblus. Written in a new script which seems clearly to have been inspired to some extent by Egyptian models, these documents show that the early, Canaanite culture was able to transmit its

words and ideas to posterity, and was thus in theory, at least, on a par with contemporary Egyptian and Accadian cultures. Whether the writer's view that the partly effaced inscription in enigmatic characters on the Bālû'ah stele also dates from the late third millennium is correct must remain doubtful for the present.<sup>4</sup>

The political situation in Syria and Palestine during the third millennium is still very obscure. At present there is virtually no direct light from cuneiform sources except during the Dynasty of Accad, between 2700 and 2500 B. C. This information is so hard to interpret and in part so dubiously transmitted, that it is nearly useless to us. When we pass Mari, going upstream from Babylonia to Syria, it becomes impossible to identify place-names. Yarmuti, Ibla, and Ulisu mean nothing to us; Ursu is little better. Semi-legendary characters like Nûr-Dagan or Khurwaruwa, king of Amurrû, will not become historical entities until we find them mentioned in contemporary records. The Mari archives will become invaluable to us for the data they contain bearing on conditions about 2000 B. C., but it will be some years before they are sufficiently published by Dossin and his colleagues to make extrapolations from their evidence possible.<sup>5</sup> The Egyptian records are little better since, with one exception from the Fifth Dynasty, they do not give us any native place-names or personal names at all; the so-called *Aechtungstexte* from about 2000 B. C. belong to the Middle Bronze. The finds at Byblus have demonstrated that the latter was virtually an Egyptian crown-colony from the end of the Second Dynasty (Kha'-sekhmwey) to the late Sixth (Phiopt II). The objects of Egyptian provenance, dating from about the Third Dynasty, discovered in the shrine at Ai, as well as various miscellaneous finds elsewhere, have shown the extent to which Egyptian influence permeated Palestine and Phoenicia. The writer believes that

these two districts were under Egyptian suzerainty during most of the Old Kingdom, since the direct hieroglyphic references to Egyptian control seem to preclude any other interpretation.<sup>6</sup> The relative paucity of direct data from the Egyptian royal inscriptions is strictly comparable to the silence preserved by the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur or of the Saite and Chaldaean Dynasties with reference to military exploits. It no longer seems probable that northeastern Syria was under Babylonian rule at any time during the second half of the third millennium, but here again direct information is wanting. We can only say that the culture of this district seems then to have been so closely related to that of northern Mesopotamia as to suggest a political centre in the latter. In any event we must picture Western Semites (Canaanites and Amorites) as facing Hurrians and other non-Semitic peoples along a line running across northern Syria and Mesopotamia.

Since 1926 we have seen an increase in our knowledge of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine and Syria which could not have been foreseen. Excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim, Jericho, Tell el-Fâr'ah, Tell el-'Ajjûl, Shechem, and elsewhere in Palestine, at Byblus, Ugarit, Qatna, etc., in Syria have made it possible to set up a detailed absolute chronology for the period, have yielded a mass of data with reference to material civilization, and have brought to light numerous written documents in Accadian and Canaanite.

The ceramic history of Palestine during the Middle Bronze can now be divided into a number of phases, each of which can be fixed chronologically within narrow limits.<sup>7</sup> The initial phases of this period are closely related to the caliciform culture of Syria (cir. 2400-2000), but come in later, and may be dated cir. 2100-1900 B. C. (Tell Beit Mirsim I and H). Following M. B. I comes

M. B. II, which may be subdivided into three phases, M. B. II A, II B, and II C. II A (Tell Beit Mirsim G and F) has now been identified at numerous sites in Palestine, especially at Aphek (Râs el-'Ain in the Plain of Sharon);<sup>8</sup> it forms the first phase of the long period of carinated pottery (1900-1500 B. C.). M. B. II B and C may also be called "Early" and "Late" Hyksos, if we remember that there is no evidence for a specific ethnic association of the pottery. The former (Tell Beit Mirsim E) covers parts of the eighteenth and of the seventeenth centuries, and represents the height of the "Hyksos" material culture. The latter covers the late seventeenth and the sixteenth centuries, and reflects the decline of the culture in question. Montet's discovery that Neferhotpe of the Thirteenth Dynasty was still suzerain of Byblus makes it certain that the so-called Hyksos conquest of Egypt did not begin until the late eighteenth century at the earliest; other Egyptian evidence fixes the date somewhere about the last third of the century. So late a date makes it practically certain that the "Hyksos" did not bring the pottery in question with them, but that they found it already in use and only developed it to a finer artifactual level.

The outstanding historical problem connected with the Middle Bronze is naturally that of the Hyksos.<sup>9</sup> At present so much new evidence has come from Palestine and Syria that the Egyptologist must perforce turn to our field for enlightenment. Here it may be recalled that the veteran Egyptian archaeologist, Sir Flinders Petrie, lopped a whole millennium from the duration he had attributed to the Second Intermediate Age after his first campaign at Tell el-Fâr'ah. We shall here restrict ourselves to a brief survey of the more important conclusions already reached. In the first place it is now clear that the Syro-Palestinian ramparts of *terre pisée* are somehow connected with an

early phase of the Hyksos movement. The ceramic evidence for this increases year by year, and now includes data from Qatna, Hazor, Tell Kisân, Shechem, Tell Beit Mirsim, Lachish, Tell el-Fâr'ah, etc., in all of which the *terre pisée* fortifications belong to the eighteenth or seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, it is still impossible to associate these ramparts and the accompanying introduction of horse-drawn chariots on a military scale with a given ethnic group. The earlier Hyksos royal names are mostly West Semitic; the later ones (such as *Hayana* and *Samuqena*) are in part just as clearly related to an important group of non-Semitic names found in documents scattered through Syria and Palestine, all belonging to the period between 1800 and 1300 B. C. Thureau-Dangin held that these names ending in *-na* were Hurrian; he may have been correct, though the difference between them and the innumerable specifically Hurrian personal names of Syria and Mesopotamia is surprisingly great. To the Syrian names given elsewhere by the writer may be added one from Shechem, *Biraššena*, which can hardly be separated from Nuzian *Birazzina*.<sup>10</sup>

Every fresh discovery in Syria and Palestine confirms and illustrates the general picture of Hyksos political organization already drawn years ago by E. Meyer and A. Alt. They were loosely organized in a kind of feudal state with an aristocracy of chariot-warriors, corresponding roughly to the equestrian knights of the Middle Ages. To what extent we can speak of an Hyksos empire is still obscure; in favor of it is the striking homogeneity of culture in Syria, Palestine and Egypt (pottery, metallurgy, glyptic, etc.) during the seventeenth and the sixteenth centuries B. C., as well as the wide diffusion of the comparatively few Hyksos royal monuments and scarabs. Among other new indications is the fact that a king Bablimma or Nablomma who figures enigmatically in the

Qatna temple-inventory of the fifteenth century, may be the Hyksos ruler *Bōnm* of the Turin Papyrus, who is possibly the *Bnon* of Manetho. The variants in cuneiform spelling show that this ruler was comparatively remote from the date of composition, either in space or time or both.

Among the most interesting chapters of Middle Bronze history in our field are those devoted to the written documents of West-Semitic speech. We shall not discuss the linear alphabetic texts from Sinai here, except to say that they are still in process of decipherment, and that their language is apparently a dialect closely related to the East Canaanite of the personal names in contemporary Mesopotamian documents.<sup>11</sup> This position is deduced from a careful examination of the known Semitic personal names found in the *Achtungstexte* and in the Egyptian documents from the Twelfth Dynasty at Sinai. Gardiner's classical identification of the name of the goddess Ba'alat remains the one solid point in all rational tentative decipherments. The solution of the enigma may come from the direction of Palestine, where we now have several short Middle-Bronze inscriptions in this character from Gezer, Lachish, and Shechem, which are connected epigraphically with the relatively more numerous and longer inscriptions in the palaeo-Canaanite alphabet from Late-Bronze Palestine and Syria.<sup>12</sup>

It may seem strange to append the discussion of the cuneiform documents of Ugarit to our sketch of the Middle Bronze Age. However, as the writer has pointed out elsewhere recently, king Niqmedas of Ugarit, under whom a number of the mythological texts were written, must be dated somewhere in the sixteenth or early fifteenth century—1500 B. C. in round numbers.<sup>13</sup> The script itself may have continued in use down into the thirteenth century, but our evidence (Mīnet el-Beidā) does not carry



us below the fourteenth. The date of introduction of the script is much more difficult to fix, but must have been somewhere in the Middle Bronze. There are now three chief theories with regard to the origin of the cuneiform alphabet. The most natural one, which the writer accepts without qualification, is that this script was invented by a Canaanite who knew a little about the linear Canaanite script of the south and also knew a little of the Accadian method of writing with a stylus on clay. From the former he derived the Egyptian principle of employing consonants only (though he erroneously supposed that there were three alephs); from the latter he obtained the wedge-shaped elements, arranged in various simple combinations to form characters. Since he employed the simplest combinations for the most common characters, and in the process of building up his system exhausted all simple combinations, it is clear that the alphabet is artificial and is not an adaptation of some other system, as suggested by Olmstead and Ebeling. To the former we owe the second theory, that the Ugaritic script is derived from the South-Canaanite linear alphabet, imitated with a stylus on clay; to the latter we are indebted for a third, that the cuneiform alphabet was a drastic simplification of Early Babylonian cuneiform. It is not impossible that one or the other character of the cuneiform alphabet is adapted from one of these two scripts as thought by some scholars, but direct evidence is wanting.

As is now well known, nearly all of the new documents are written in a new Semitic dialect, about which there are two principal views. The first is that of the editor of the texts, M. Virölleaud, followed by the writer, that Ugaritic is simply a northern dialect of Canaanite, sprung according to the writer from the parent Canaanite stock like South Canaanite (Phœnician proper), East Canaanite ("Amorite"), and Proto-Hebrew.<sup>14</sup> This view is also

held, with various modifications, by Dussaud, Dhorme, Ginsberg, Montgomery, Harris. The second view is that of Bauer, Cantineau, Friedrich, and Goetze, that Ugaritic is a distinct Semitic language, intermediate between Canaanite and Accadian. There can be no doubt that Ugaritic is in a sense intermediate, i. e., it shares certain peculiarities of Aramaic and Accadian which are not found in the more southerly Canaanite dialects. One might just as well argue that Macedonian is not a Greek dialect because it shares certain peculiarities with Thraco-Phrygian, or that English is not a Germanic dialect because of its superficial resemblance to French. Suggestive is perhaps the now established fact that the mythological texts of Ugarit reflect an early stage of the same mythology which we find in Philo of Byblus.

The non-Semitic tongue of Ugarit, found written in Accadian characters in a bilingual vocabulary and written in alphabetic characters in half a dozen long and short texts, is now certainly to be identified with Hurrian, as has been shown by Thureau-Dangin, Friedrich, and Gaster. The two latter have discovered such far-reaching parallels between the terminology of the Hurrian rituals of Boghazköy and of the rituals of Ugarit that no doubt is possible.<sup>15</sup> The dialectic difference noted by Thureau-Dangin remains, but the writer's studies have convinced him that it is very slight indeed—considerably less than that between Ugaritic and Byblian, or between *eme-sal* and *eme-ku* Sumerian, for example. As observed above, it is still doubtful what the linguistic affiliations of the personal names ending in *-na* are.

Before we leave Ugarit we may say a few words about the question of the supposed historical traditions of the Canaanites, believed by Virolleaud, Dussaud, and Gaster to be reflected in the Ugaritic epic literature. According to them we have many points of contact between the

Hebrew Patriarchal saga and Canaanite traditions, which point to a common origin in the Negeb, presumably in the third millennium B. C. The writer rejects this theory *in toto*, regarding it as an artificial edifice on a foundation of erroneous interpretation and of accidental coincidence in name.<sup>16</sup> To the writer the Canaanite mythological literature, so far as hitherto known, is just as lacking in historical reminiscences as the Babylonian Creation Epic. That there was also an historical saga is perfectly possible and may even be said to be probable when we compare the situation among the neighboring Accadians, Hurrians, and Hebrews, all of whom possessed a well-developed epic literature based on traditional history.

The Late Bronze Age is in many ways one of the best known periods in all the earlier history of Palestine and Syria. Bliss's excavations at Tell el-Hesî in the early nineties established its chronology, and subsequent excavations at Taanach, Megiddo and Gezer added materially to the details of the picture. The erroneous ceramic chronology set up by the excavators of Jericho before the War confused the situation somewhat, but subsequent work at Beth-shan, Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth-shemesh, Tell el-Fâr'ah, Jericho, Bethel, Tell Abū Hawam in Palestine, and at Qatna and Ugarit in Syria have cleared it up beautifully. The remaining uncertainties are due mainly to inadequate data with reference to given strata or deposits. The most serious difference of opinion is now probably at Jericho, where Garstang and Vincent diverge by a century and a half (1400-1250 B. C.) in fixing the date of the fall of the L. B. town. The writer places this event somewhere in the fourteenth century, probably in the second or third quarter;<sup>17</sup> the earlier date which he formerly gave was due to the fact that we then dated the transition from M. B. to L. B. about 1600, a century too early. A few shifts elsewhere have been necessary; e. g.

Rowe's dates for the L. B. strata of Beth-shan have been shown by the subsequent work of FitzGerald and parallel results elsewhere to be too high and must be reduced by over a century, on the average. Thanks to the correction of the Beth-shan chronology and to the series of three superimposed shrines cleared by Starkey at Lachish we now have excellent guidance for our Palestinian chronology. In Syria we have a valuable index to time in the three phases of stratum I at Ugarit, as well as in the temple of Ninegal at Qatna, destroyed by the Hittites about 1370 B. C. Curiously enough very few data for the Late Bronze of Syria have come from the recent work at Byblus, and Hamath has apparently been quite silent; at Carchemish and Zenjirli the excavators did not dig deep enough, and the work at Kadesh on the Orontes was hampered by the village on the mound.

Hitherto the Amarna Tablets have remained our principal written source for the Syro-Palestinian culture of the Late Bronze. Local excavations have yielded comparatively few tablets dating from between cir. 1500 and 1300 B. C.: a number from Ugarit, mostly in Accadian; some from Qatna; a dozen from Taanach, two from Shechem, one from Tell el-Hesi, one fragment from Gezer (erroneously thought to be Neo-Babylonian), etc. Happily there have been several recent discoveries of new Amarna tablets, in part coming from previously unknown lots of the original tablets and in part from recent German and British excavations. Thanks to the tablets published by Thureau-Dangin and Dossin from the original find, and to the group about to be published by C. H. Gordon,<sup>18</sup> we have a most valuable supplement to this unique collection. A great deal of detail work remains to be done; the writer and Mr. A. Sachs have been working on these groups of documents with very gratifying results, which will be gradually published.<sup>19</sup> At first most of the letters

from Syria and Palestine were thought to date from the reign of Amenophis IV. Later this view seemed to be proved wrong, so most of the tablets were pushed back into the reign of Amenophis III. Now, however, the writer's researches show that the original date was, after all, correct.

The date of the Israelite conquest of Palestine still remains obscure, though the available evidence proves that the main wave of destruction fell in the thirteenth century and that the reoccupation of the more important towns must be dated between 1250 and 1150 B. C.<sup>20</sup> Jericho clearly fell before the principal phase of the conquest, but it is by no means certain just what this fact indicates when applied to Hebrew tradition. Ai has proved to be a complete disappointment, since the site (which is the only possible one) was not inhabited during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.<sup>21</sup> For greater precision we must probably await further excavation at such points as Lachish.

At the threshold of the Iron Age we enter a new historical world, in which the great nations of the Bronze Age seem incapable of making a constructive cultural effort, and in which Israel and Hellas play an increasingly important part, brightly illumined by their imperishable literatures. The archaeological nomenclature for the Iron Age of Palestine is somewhat confused, owing to the following circumstances. In 1921 the Department of Antiquities in Palestine drew up a classification of archaeological periods in which the span from 1200 to 600 B. C. was assigned to Early Iron, followed after 600 B. C. by Middle Iron. The writer subdivided this period into two phases, Early Iron I and II, terms which have been employed by a number of archaeologists working at different sites. Subsequently C. S. Fisher, directing the work at Beth-shan, divided the Iron Age into Early Iron (1200-

900 B. C.), Middle Iron (900-600), and Late Iron (600-300). These terms, though unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the history of civilization, have proved so convenient that they are now quite generally used. In order to prevent further confusion the writer now uses "Iron I" (12th-9th centuries), "Iron II" (9th-6th centuries), and "Persian" (instead of "Early Iron III," which he used for some time).

Until about fifteen years ago, the phase which we call Iron I was very unclear, being confused with Late Bronze on the one hand and with Iron II on the other. Since 1920 it has been cleared up very satisfactorily, thanks chiefly to excavation at Ascalon, Gibeah, Beth-shan, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell en-Nasbeh, Beth-shemesh, Shiloh, Shechem, Tell el-Fâr'ah, Tell Abû Hawam, Beth-zur, and now particularly Megiddo, to mention only the most significant sites in Palestine. In Syria this period remained obscure until the work of the Oriental Institute at Tell ej-Judeideh and Chatal Hüyük, though valuable monumental finds had been previously made at Byblus, Zinjirli, Carchemish, etc. Since very little has been published we are still chiefly dependent for our chronology of Syria in Iron I upon the well-investigated chronology of Palestine. Gjerstad's researches in Cyprus have provided a great mass of ceramic material, with an adequate stratigraphical and typological basis for chronology, but his treatment of the latter remains to be published.<sup>22</sup>

The most fascinating single problem which confronts the archaeologist is perhaps that of the Philistine pottery. This question, long vigorously debated, has been practically settled, but occasional voices in opposition to the now accepted view continue to be heard. "Philistine" pottery is extremely abundant on the Philistine Plain, and rapidly decreases in use as one leaves this district. To the north a few sherds have been found at Megiddo and at

Tell Harbaj; none has been discovered at Beth-shan nor at Tell Abū Hawam. Nowhere does it appear before the first half of the twelfth century and all finds in clearly stratified sites may be assigned to the period between the second quarter of the century, shortly after the settlement of the Philistines, and the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the tenth. There have been two dominant theories with regard to the relation of Philistine ceramic decoration to Aegean, held respectively by Vincent and by Phythian-Adams. Heurtley has now demonstrated the correctness of Vincent's position with regard to the eclectic origin of the type; he has also shown that the latter's chronological view is disproved both by local excavation and by comparative typology.<sup>23</sup>

Thanks to a number of closely coordinated recent excavations in central Palestine (Gibeah, Shiloh, Beth-zur, Bethel, A1) it is now possible to set up a well consolidated system of Israelite ceramic chronology during our period. Outstanding points are the destruction of Shiloh about 1050 and the erection of Saul's fortress at Gibeah (cir. 1020-1000); for relative chronology two phases of occupation at Gibeah and four at Bethel are important. The resulting chronology may be tied up with the south through the three phases of stratum B distinguished at Tell Beit Mirsim, and with the north by the aid of the excellent stratification of Megiddo 5-7. The chronology of Petrie and to a smaller extent that of Starkey for this period is too high (about a century or more in the former case and approximately half as much in the latter case). From the latest preliminary reports at Megiddo it would seem that the excavators of this site have also lately developed a tendency to date the end of stratum 7 too high, but for details we must await future publication.

Among the most interesting cultural problems of the period in Palestine is that of construction and architecture.

Bethel has yielded good illustrations of the dominant house-plan of the better type in the twelfth-eleventh century, consisting of rooms grouped on the side or sides of a court. For larger houses in the following century we may turn to Tell en-Nasbeh, Beth-shemesh, and Jericho, all of which yield good specimens of the rectangular plan with threefold longitudinal division and antechamber, a house to which the term "*hillani*" is sometimes applied, though without good reason. Excavation at Megiddo has demonstrated that a "colonnaded" form of construction belonging to the tenth-ninth centuries, first noted by Bliss at Tell el-Hesî, actually was used for horses' stables. The latest work at Megiddo has proved that the Proto-Aeolic ("Ionic") capital was already in use before 1000 B. C. Fortress construction is best illustrated by the corner of Saul's citadel at Gibeah, which shows casemated walls, with separately bonded corner towers.<sup>24</sup>

The outstanding problem in Syrian archaeology of this period is the chronology of the earliest "Syro-Hittite" monuments of Carchemish and Zenjirli, closely related to which is the dating of the orthostates founded by Von Oppenheim in the palace of Kapara at Gozan (Tell Ḥalâf). Until 1928 all serious students dated the former somewhere in our period, but in that year no less an authority than E. Herzfeld maintained that they must actually go back to the early third millennium. He was led to this by a correct estimate of the close relation existing between the earliest monuments of Syro-Hittite art and the monuments of Gozan, which were believed by the excavators to have been removed from their original places in a palace of the painted-pottery stratum and set up in the palace of Kapara. As a result, the artistic chronology of Syria and Northern Mesopotamia has been shifted nearly two thousand years, with far-reaching dislocation of stratigraphically established dating elsewhere. The writer



adheres to the low chronology, placing the earliest hitherto known monuments of Syro-Hittite art about the tenth or eleventh century B. C. and the monuments of Gozan in the twelfth, or perhaps better in the eleventh (substantially with Moortgat and Contenau). In support of this dating is the stratigraphical evidence, which brought nothing to light at Tell Ḥalâf between the end of the painted-pottery occupation and the age of Kapara, which is fixed by cuneiform inscriptions in the twelfth or eleventh century. The painted pottery of Ḥalâf has since been discovered in many sites in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, and is now known to date back to the fifth millennium, since it not only antedates the Warka culture of Babylonia and contemporary northern cultures, but is also relatively older than the Obeidian.<sup>25</sup> Under no circumstances can it be dated low enough to come within a millennium of the classical Sumerian age (royal tombs of Ur, etc.), with which Herzfeld makes it coeval. Mallowan's excavations at the near-by site of Chagar Bazar, which has yielded remains from the very period to which Herzfeld dates the monuments of Gozan, as well as from the immediately preceding and following ones, have proved that the evolution of culture in the headwaters of the Khābûr offers no room whatever for the postulated civilization. Finally, the closest resemblances in decorative elements come from the Assyrian and Babylonian art of the second half of the second millennium, and the best parallel for relief technique has just been discovered at Ugarit on a carved slab from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the twelfth century B. C.<sup>26</sup>

The discovery of a number of short Canaanite inscriptions in the linear alphabet from the fourteenth and early thirteenth centuries at Lachish and Beth-shemesh has made it very difficult to date the Ahîrâm sarcophagus as early as the middle of the thirteenth century, especially since

Dunand's publication of a stone inscription from Byblus in the same Late-Bronze alphabet has made it impossible to separate the evolution of the linear alphabet in Syria from that in Palestine.<sup>27</sup> It follows that the cartouche of Ramesses II on an alabaster fragment in the tomb only gives a *terminus a quo*. The probable date of the burial is given rather by the latest pottery found in the filling of the entrance-shaft, i. e. geometric painted ware of Iron I. The writer has long maintained a date in the late twelfth or eleventh century for Aḥîrâm, preferably not far from 1100 B. C. The other Byblian inscriptions in the same script, two of which are dated by Egyptian synchronisms to the second half of the tenth century, are then separated from it by not over two centuries, which is epigraphically quite conceivable.

Our available material for Iron II is now so extensive that a sketch of its sources is hardly necessary. It is true that during the second decade of this century a curious aberration led the most eminent Palestinian archaeologists, Macalister and Watzinger, to date the whole ceramic culture of Iron II in the three centuries following its close, but this episode has now been forgotten, though it still confuses historians and biblical scholars who are not *au courant*. The main chronological problem at present is to find criteria enabling the expert to date characteristic pottery from Judah or Israel with a margin of half a century instead of a century or more, as is now the case. In other parts of Palestine and Syria even this precision is hardly yet possible, though it has recently been determined by the Rîḥāniyeh expedition that the main lines of ceramic evolution were the same in northern Syria as in southern Palestine. Thanks to Glueck's brilliant explorations in Transjordan, we now know that Edom, Moab, and Ammon each possessed a ceramic culture of its own, sufficiently like that of Judah and Israel to make general dat-

ing possible, but presenting enough independent features to make confusion almost impossible, once the scholar has become familiar with regional peculiarities. This additional demonstration of the tendency to particularism which distinguishes Iron II so sharply from Middle or Late Bronze, is most significant.

The outstanding archaeological problem of Iron II is undoubtedly that of Phoenician art, its origin, development, and diffusion. After the Phoenicians had received undeserved credit for colonizing and spreading civilization in the whole northern and western Mediterranean, the discovery of the brilliant civilization of an earlier Minoan Crete and the failure to find any clear archaeological traces of Phoenician commerce or colonization before the seventh or eighth century B. C. led to a violent reversal of attitude. This reaction reached such an extreme during the decade from 1902 to 1912 that the Phoenicians were denied all originality and even all claim to have transmitted Oriental civilization to the Greeks of the Iron Age. True, there were scholars like V. Bérard and E. Meyer who declined to be influenced by the current trend, but the former was too imaginative and the latter remained silent on the subject during the critical decade. In 1912 E. Poulsen published his valuable monograph, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, in which he showed that there existed a large body of objects in silver, bronze, and ivory which could only be attributed to the Phoenicians, since they dated mainly from between 900 and 600 B. C., i. e., from the historically attested golden age of Phoenician commerce, and since they exhibited an homogeneous art of highly syncretistic character, chiefly made up of elements from both Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources. The only serious fact which could be adduced against Poulsen's view was the almost total lack of similar objects in excavations and accidental finds

in Syria and Palestine. Of course, we now realize that very little excavation had been undertaken up to that time in Iron II sites of Palestine and practically none at all in Phoenicia. How little real knowledge of the period existed is shown by the fact that Macalister concluded, as a result of his five long campaigns at Gezer (where there are virtually no remains of Iron II) that Iron II pottery was Persian in date (cf. above).

Two recent discoveries have converted all competent authorities to Poulsen's belief. First is the finding (1928) of quantities of ivory inlay in a palace of Tiglathpileser III (746-729 B. C.) at Khadattu (Arslan Tash) east of the Upper Euphrates. These ivories are of the same type as the Nimrud ones used by Poulsen and now more completely published by Barnett.<sup>28</sup> One ivory bears an Aramaic inscription of the late ninth century B. C., mentioning Hazael king of Damascus. Second is the discovery of a considerable number of ivories belonging to two classes in the ruins of eighth-century Samaria (1932); one ivory bears a Phoenician or Israelite name written in Egyptian hieroglyphics. These two finds demonstrate the Syro-Palestinian (i. e., Phoenician) provenience of most of Poulsen's corpus. As a result such subsequently published material as Kunze's *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (1931), which the latter still thought was of Cretan origin, can be attributed with certainty to Phoenician artists (or to Aegeans trained by Phoenicians). A great many individual finds in Palestine and Syria can now be called "Phoenician" with full confidence. Moreover, whole groups of figurines and other objects which occur in abundance in Palestinian sites of Iron II now appear in their correct perspective as imitations of the Phoenician prototypes of corresponding archaic Greek types. It appears practically certain that archaic Greek architecture (from which classical forms are directly derived) is in-

debted to the Phoenicians for most of the Orientalizing uses of columns and capitals in construction. The Proto-Aeolic capital (see above) can now be proved to be Phoenician or Syrian in origin.

While the archaeological evidence hitherto described does not necessarily carry Greek cultural borrowing from Phoenicia back before the eighth century, it appears almost certain that the Greek alphabet was taken over in the ninth. The writer believes that Phoenician influence on Greece began to be effective still earlier, probably in the eleventh century, since it is now increasingly clear that Phoenicia was the immediate source of certain ubiquitous types of Protogeometric pottery, found in abundance on Syrian coastal sites of that age and almost equally typical of Cyprus, southern Asia Minor, and the Aegean coastland. Ultimately, to be sure, many of the forms and decorative elements may be traced back to Mycenaean pottery.

The long epigraphical silence of Palestinian archaeology has now been broken and we can list several hundred inscriptions of known Israelite provenience. Thanks to the Siloam inscription and the Lachish ostraca, supplemented by many legends on seals and graffiti on potsherds, we can form an excellent idea of the script and dialect of Judah in the century and a half before the Exile. The Northern Kingdom is now nearly as well off, thanks to over eighty ostraca from Samaria, dating mostly from between 850 and 750 B. C. The attribution of the main find of ostraca to the reign of Ahab has been shown to be probably wrong, and a date at the end of the ninth century now seems probable. Thanks to our new knowledge of the dialectic distinctions between northern and southern Palestine, the philologist is in a much better position to evaluate dialectic peculiarities in the Hebrew of the Bible.

The end of Iron II in Judah, at least for practical pur-

poses, is marked by wholesale destruction of towns, a destruction which certainly reflects the Chaldaean invasions of Judah at the beginning of the sixth century. The Bethel excavation brought to light a class of pottery belonging typologically to Iron II, but definitely later than the latest pre-exilic pottery of Judah (which also appears in somewhat earlier deposits at Bethel). The exact date of this pottery is not yet known, but the writer would tentatively place it about the third quarter of the sixth century. In any case it marks the closing phase of Iron II and the transition to the Persian period. To what political events we are to attribute the destruction of Bethel by fire at this time must remain obscure for the present.

The Persian period was until within the last few years the most obscure archaeological period in all the history of Palestine and Syria after 1700 B. C. Recent discoveries have altered this situation, though the pertinent data are so scattered and often so misinterpreted that this fact is hardly yet evident.

Our material comes chiefly from the following sites: Samaria, Gezer, Beth-zur, Tell el-Fâr'ah, Lachish, 'Athlît (Palestine); Sidon and Nêrab (Syria).<sup>29</sup> The most important architectural remains come from the restricted Persian reoccupation at Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), which has yielded two buildings of interest, one a large palace, the other a small shrine. The palace is unique of its kind, and forms an almost isolated connecting link between Persepolis and Parthian Dura. Among the more interesting other remains are the graves found at Gezer and near Carchemish; the former were believed by Macalister to be Philistine tombs and to date several centuries earlier, but the correct Persian attribution was later made by Woolley. Contemporary tombs, mostly rock-hewn, have been excavated at Tell el-Fâr'ah (where Petrie also gave too high a date) and at 'Athlît. Among the more impor-

tant finds of objects must be counted a remarkable group of Egyptianizing bronzes at Ascalon.<sup>30</sup> Some of the finds at Sidon which have hitherto been attributed to the Persian period, such as the Eshmunazarid tombs, actually belong to the beginning of the Hellenistic age.<sup>31</sup> However, they reflect the culture of the preceding period so closely that they may still be counted to it for practical purposes.

The civilization of the Persian period was a most complex syncretism, with elements from every possible source, though the dominant note was undoubtedly given by the composite Aramaean culture of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Neo-Babylonian age. Among the most interesting factors in its development was a strong Greek influence. Until the end of the seventh century Greece was the receiver; in the sixth century she may be said to have digested what she had absorbed, receiving and giving being well balanced; shortly after the beginning of the fifth she began to repay her debt with interest. The Asiatic Greeks began to exert an influence on the east comparatively early in the sixth century; the character of this influence is best illustrated by the statements of Darius I in a recently published inscription from Susa and by the strong Greek note in the treatment of draperies at Persepolis (pointed out in detail by Moortgat, who reversed the direction of the influence). In Syria we find Greek trading settlements with pottery of Naucratic type established on the coast in the course of the sixth century (Tell Sūkās, Sheikh Yūsif el-Gharīb); numerous sporadic finds of Greek pottery from the sixth century have been made in Palestine.

From the middle of the fifth century on we find Attic influence dominant, and it gained ground steadily until the Macedonian conquest replaced it by a pan-Hellenic civilization—which we call Hellenistic. Among the most interesting and important illustrations of Attic influence

are the triumph of the Attic drachma standard in Palestine, where it soon wrested the field from Phoenician and official Persian coinage for all practical purposes, and the extraordinary spread of Attic pottery, vases and sherds of which turn up in every late fifth and early fourth century site. Attic sculpture obtained a firm hold in Phoenicia during the fourth century, as shown by the discoveries of many marble anthropoid sarcophagi at Sidon. There can be no doubt that the coastal cities of Palestine and Phoenicia were leavened with Greek merchants and craftsmen at least a century before Alexander's definitive triumph.

The most interesting single problem is certainly that of the character of the Jewish Restoration, archaeologically considered. The best example of reoccupation is now Beth-zur, where, however, no preserved houses of this age could be recognized. At Bethel the first reoccupation proved to be singularly poverty-stricken, to judge from the stone "masonry." It is increasingly clear that the population of the new Judaea remained poor and small until the Greek conquest, since it is only then that we begin to find solidly constructed dwellings and abundant pottery remains. The most interesting objects from this small Jewish state are the official stamped jar-handles and silver coins, all bearing the legend *Yehûd*, "Judah," as Sukenik has proved<sup>32</sup> The existence of an autonomous Jewish coinage in the fourth century B. C., hitherto quite unknown, is historically most significant, since it shows that Judah was politically on a par with Hierapolis in Syria, whose priestly ruler also struck silver coins about the same time.

With the conquest of Alexander we enter a new phase of culture, conventionally known as the Hellenistic (cir. 330-50 B. C.). If we were restricted to archaeological discoveries in Palestine and Syria for our information, we should be singularly ignorant of this period, though bet-



ter acquainted with it than with the preceding Persian age. It is singular how few remains of it have been brought to light in Syria. The early levels of Antioch are buried deep under the alluvium of the lower Orontes valley; the Franco-American expedition there has found virtually no monumental remains and few small objects of the Seleucid period. At Apamea in central Syria, where more might reasonably be expected, the Belgian expedition has hitherto discovered nothing but a few coins and *dissecta membra*. Palmyra has yielded nothing that can be dated before 9 B. C. Even at Dura the Franco-American excavators have fared little better, except on the citadel, where earlier foundations have come to light. In Phœnicia many inscriptions and objects of Seleucid date are known, but few were found *in situ* by excavators, except at Sidon.

In Palestine we are considerably better off, though the remains are undoubtedly much poorer than they would be in corresponding Syrian sites. Samaria has yielded extensive, though fragmentary, building remains and objects of the period; Marisa (Tell Sandahannah) has disclosed an entire Seleucid town, as well as a remarkable group of tombs. At 'Arâq el-Emîr in Transjordan we have a mausoleum and rock-cut tombs of the third century B. C. Gezer has also been productive, and Beth-zur (1931) has proved to be one of the most instructive Hellenistic sites in Palestine. Hellenistic village remains have been uncovered in numerous other sites (e. g., Gibeah, Bethel). The important cities have, however, been almost as discouraging as in Syria. Samaria has yielded only fragments and Jerash has been almost entirely unproductive.

Owing to this unfavorable archaeological situation, we are far from having an adequate picture of the precise character of the Hellenistic culture of the Seleucid state. From the occupation of Palestine by Ptolemy Lagi to the Syrian conquest in 200 B. C. Palestine and southern Phœ-

nica remained provinces of the Egyptian empire, and were consequently dominated by Egypto-Hellenistic culture. Even after the triumph of the Hasmonaeen house over the Seleucids, Egyptian influence remained exceedingly strong, and during the Herodian period it enjoyed a renaissance, illustrated by the burial monuments of the Benê Hēzîr, of "Absalom," and of "Zacharias," all of which are Herodian, not Ptolemaic, in date. During the Ptolemaic occupation this influence is best illustrated by the painted tombs of Marisa, from the late third and the early second centuries B. C. The slightly earlier mausoleum of 'Arâq el-Emîr still preserves Persian elements mixed with Greek ornamentation, but there is nothing specifically Egypto-Hellenistic about it. Nabataean culture also came under Egyptian influence in the period of its emergence, during the last two pre-Christian centuries, but Watzinger is certainly correct in attributing the tombs with architectural ornament (aside from those with crenelated battlements in relief, many of which may be earlier) to the period beginning with Aretas IV (9 B. C.-40 A. D.) and the following. We shall have more to say about Nabataean culture below.

To the lack of information with regard to the archaeological remains of Syria we may attribute much of our uncertainty with regard to the exact origin of Parthian art, which Rostovtzeff has so ably discussed in a recent monograph.<sup>33</sup> If we could obtain an adequate picture of Seleucid art and architecture in the third and second centuries B. C., we should probably find there the sources of much that is now supposed to come from Iran. Rostovtzeff, for example, has devoted much effort to finding eastern sources for the emergence of frontal delineation of faces, which became characteristic of Parthian art. In the writer's opinion he is quite wrong here, and Herzfeld is right in deriving Parthian frontality mainly from Hel-

lenistic sources. A complete demonstration is not yet possible, but we can go a long way toward one. Our space will only permit a few observations. Firstly, we can trace the gradual increase in popularity of the frontal representation of the human face and figure from classical vase-painting in the fifth century B. C., through the Hellenistic originals (third-second centuries B. C.) of many paintings at Pompeii and Herculaneum, to the Egyptian mummy-portraits from Fayum (of the first two centuries A. D.). Secondly we find complete dominance of frontality in the numerous reliefs of deities found by Glueck at Khirbet et-Tannûr in Transjordan (1937).<sup>34</sup> Since these reliefs date from the first century A. D., they form a bridge from reliefs and paintings of the Hellenistic period, where frontality gained ground steadily, and the Romano-Parthian sculptures and paintings of Palmyra and Dura, dating from the second and third centuries A. D. Khirbet et-Tannûr is doubly important because of the fact that the principal deities here represented are the Syrian Baal (Hadad) and his consort Atargatis. Thirdly, Rostovtzeff himself finds almost total absence of frontality in earlier Mesopotamian and Iranian reliefs, and is thus forced to make a perilous leap of over a millennium to the art of Tell Hālâf, etc., for prototypes.

What a blank the archaeology of Seleucid Syria still is, may be illustrated by the fact that M. D. Schlumberger of the Department of Antiquities in Syria has long been making a complete collection of pillar-capitals there, but has very few certain examples of the period from 330 to 50 B. C. The certain and probable examples are mostly from isolated finds, not forming part of buildings or other monuments of architecture.

Until within the past few years, the native epigraphy of Syria and Palestine was equally unsatisfactory. Only in Phoenicia have long datable Semitic inscriptions from the

Hellenistic period been found. We have above called attention to the fact that H. L. Ginsberg has just proved that the Eshmunazarid inscriptions date from the first half-century of Greek rule. Besides these, less than a dozen, mostly short, are known, and the list has hardly been increased at all during the past few years. There are no known Aramaic inscriptions from Seleucid Syria; the Palmyrene series does not begin until the year 32 B. C. (Dura, published in 1937 by Du Mesnil du Buisson). In Palestine we have a very few short Aramaic inscriptions, most of which have been discussed recently by the writer.<sup>85</sup> True Nabataean inscriptions hardly begin until after the middle of the first century B. C. It is now certain that the differentiation between local Aramaic scripts did not begin until after the fall of the Persian Empire had put an end to the sole domination of the official Aramaic language and script. A comparison between the earliest Palmyrene, Nabataean, and the cursive of the third century as employed by Jewish settlers in Middle and Upper Egypt, has been made elsewhere by the writer; it shows clearly that this differentiation was slow until the late second century B. C., after which it gained momentum rapidly. We can distinguish three separate foci of development: Nabataean, which can be traced from its undifferentiated state in the late second century to its standardization about the Christian era; Jewish, which can be traced from the first half of the first century B. C. (the Gezer boundary) until it, too, becomes standardized in the early Herodian age, just before the Christian era; Palmyrene, originally the cursive of the Aramaic-writing population of Seleucid Syria in the second and early first centuries B. C.

We should very much like to know something about the Aramaic literature of Syria in Hellenistic times; unfortunately we have no remains whatever that can be attributed

with confidence to it. To what extent the use of Aramaic was driven under cover by the repressive policy of the Seleucids is also wholly obscure, but it can hardly be an accident that there are no known Aramaic inscriptions before 32 B. C. Phoenician was a time-honored sacred language, which offered no menace to Greek rule, but the native Aramaeans were presumably not far behind the Jews in their particularist tendencies. To be sure, the ease with which Graeco-Syrian syncretism seems to have been established may have mitigated the force of local nationalism considerably.

Before turning to the age of Roman domination, a few words may be in place with reference to the problems confronting the student of Jewish archaeology in the Hellenistic age. The most interesting and elusive problem is that of the administrative organization and the culture of the Jewish theocratic province. It is clear from the evidence of silver coins with Hebrew or Aramaic inscriptions (see above) that Judaea enjoyed a certain measure of fiscal autonomy during the last century of Persian rule, and that this status was briefly confirmed in the early days of Macedonian rule. Literary evidence also makes it clear that a high-priest like Simon the Just was allowed to fortify Jerusalem. But the details escape us completely. We are still very much in the dark with regard to the architecture of the Maccabaeon period, though many houses, fortifications, etc., are now known. None of these buildings can, however, be dated precisely, and the datable foundations are not very instructive, for the most part. The most valuable evidence comes from Beth-zur, where Watzinger has been able to point to a most interesting shift in the plan of the citadel between the third century B. C. and the occupation of the town by the Syrians.<sup>3a</sup> Here again, however, our principal difficulty arises from the comparative absence of direct evidence for Hellenistic building in Syria.

Roman Syria and Palestine are archaeologically very well known, thanks partly to the monumental character of Roman building, which made complete destruction very difficult, and partly to the continuity of political organization from the age of the Antonines to the Arab conquest, soon after which many Roman sites were abandoned. Here we shall not consider the Byzantine period at all, but will close our sketch with the third century A. D. Thanks to recent excavations at Ba'albekk, Dura, Palmyra, Antioch, Apamea, and elsewhere in Syria, at Samaria, Gerasa, Petra, and elsewhere in Palestine, the architectural and epigraphic material already available as the result of more than two centuries of surface exploration has been greatly increased. The material now available has been thoroughly worked over by competent archaeologists and historical architects, so it can be easily assimilated by the historian. In the second part of Watzinger's *Denkmäler Palästinas* (1935) we have an admirable sketch of the Herodian and Roman periods (pp. 31-116), where the ground is so well covered that we can refer to it for a discussion of most pertinent matters. In the archaeological field proper, to which we may safely restrict ourselves, the most debated questions of immediate historical interest are perhaps the following. First is indisputably the dating of Roman mosaics. Second we may place the problem of Nabataean pottery. Third comes the differentiation between architecture of late Herodian or Flavian date and that of second or third century date. Fourth is the elusive problem of Jewish synagogal art.

After general agreement seemed to be reached with regard to the chronology of provincial Roman and Byzantine mosaic art, as illustrated by Vincent's masterly treatment of the date of the mosaics of Eleutheropolis and Nicopolis, the unearthing of scores of well-preserved and generally datable Byzantine mosaics at Gerasa and of many hun-

dreds of Roman and Byzantine mosaics at Antioch and Daphne has radically altered the situation. As pointed out by Crowfoot and Morey, among specialists who have treated the subject recently, it is now clear that the evolution of mosaic art was not nearly such a simple matter as had been supposed. In each period there were well executed mosaics and coarse ones; old patterns were re-copied and old paintings imitated. Moreover, mosaic art was generally turned over to skilled craftsmen, not to artists, so we lack much of the individuality which we might expect where artists were employed. In short most of Vincent's and others' dates for anepigraphic mosaics have proved to be erroneous, and many mosaics thought to be Roman are now known or believed to be Byzantine. We cannot expect the present rather chaotic situation to be reduced to order until there has been an adequate publication of the vast material from Antioch and until the latter has been carefully analyzed and chronologically arranged.

The problem of Nabataean pottery is very recent, since the pottery in question was not noticed until 1929, when Mrs. Horsfield (Agnes Conway) found and identified it during her first work at Petra. Further light on it has come mainly from Glueck's researches in Transjordan; individual sherds have been found in excavations at Ader, Sbeitah, and Sheikh Abreiq, etc. A recent treatment by Iliffe sets this pottery into its proper historical relationship to Hellenistic painted *sigillata* wares.<sup>37</sup> His date for it from the early first century B. C. to the early second century A. D. seems a little early to the writer, who thinks that it was introduced into Nabataean territory about the Christian era and continued in use until after 200 A. D. The evidence for its continuance in use until the early third century comes partly from the writer's own excavations at Ader and Petra, and partly from Sbeitah,

Jerash, and Sheikh Abreiq, which suggest a late second or third century date. If this chronology is correct the difference of opinion between Glueck and Alt is nicely ironed out. It will be recalled that Glueck has discovered more than two hundred sites in southern Transjordan in which Nabataean pottery is found, either with or without earlier or later sherds. At first Glueck concluded that these sites all reflect pre-Roman occupation by the Nabataeans, since Nabataean pottery was then dated too early by Mrs Horsfield and Mr. Iliffe. Alt, on the other hand, holding that many of these sites represented Roman fortresses, was inclined to separate the potsherds from the masonry found on the sites in question. The truth seems to be that Alt is right for the most part, but that Glueck is correct in supposing that Nabataean fortresses were located on many of these sites, their stones having been reused in Roman construction. The presence of Nabataean pottery would not *per se* prove either pre-Roman or Roman date.

The third problem is, in general, much less acute than it was a generation ago, since our knowledge of second and third-century architecture has been so greatly increased by the publication of material from such sites as Ba'albekk and Gerasa. Probably no trained scholar now holds that any of the extant synagogues of Galilee antedate the period of the Antonines, and most would date the earliest group of them in the third century. It is the merit of Watzinger, Vincent, and Sukenik to have established the late-Roman date beyond doubt. Watzinger himself, however, dates the Ecce Homo triumphal arch in Jerusalem before the middle of the first century A. D. while Vincent places it in the time of Hadrian, nearly a century later. The criteria are here indecisive; the later date seems historically and topographically much more probable. In their just published preliminary report on



Sepphoris, Waterman and Yeivin date the Roman theater in the early first century A. D., a date that seems to the writer opposed to the evidence of masonry, architectural ornament, and inherent probability. The debate on the so-called Third Wall of Jerusalem, unearthed by Mayer and Sukenik some years ago, is dependent mainly on elusive criteria, archaeological and historical, and the difference of some sixty-five years in the date given to it by Vincent (Bar Kokhba's revolt) and that given by most other scholars (40-70 A. D., probably 67-69 A. D.) is comparatively slight.

The fourth problem which we have selected for brief discussion, that of Jewish synagogal art, is chiefly one of harmonizing the archaeological evidence with the documentary sources. Why do we have no clear allusions to synagogal art in the Mishnah and Gemara? How is the hostility to human or animal representations which we find in our Rabbinic sources to be squared with the abundance of both in synagogal art? The solution is probably that there was no general opposition to them unless they were used for purposes of pagan worship, or were at least suspected of such purpose. In the period of nearly five centuries through which we can trace the evolution of synagogal art on Palestinian soil, there were doubtless many oscillations in the dominant attitude of Jewish circles toward these representations. The question of whether the motives employed in synagogal art are all symbolical or are, at least in part, purely ornamental, is even more elusive; the writer is inclined to minimize their symbolical meaning, and to doubt whether any of the originally pagan motives were regularly interpreted in terms of Jewish symbolism. The fact that their number is so restricted and that they recur constantly in the synagogues and tombs (Sheikh Abreiq) may easily be explained as due to fashion, curbed by the limits to the

multiplication of motives set by Jewish tradition. However, the solution of this problem must be left to the future, since our evidence is still hopelessly inadequate.

One of the most encouraging aspects of Syro-Palestinian archaeology today is the speed with which old problems are being solved and new ones introduced into the foreground. We can hardly be far wrong in predicting that the coming ten years will see a more rapid substitution of new problems for old than any of the decades which have preceded. The day of diminishing returns is far from having arrived.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> L. Picard, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1937, Paper No. 5 (pp. 58-70)

<sup>2</sup> See *Bull Am Sch Or Res*, No 63, pp 12-21, and for his similar classification of the Chalcolithic material *ibid*, No 66, pp 21-25 [See now his monograph, *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age*, New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1937.]

<sup>3</sup> See *Am. Jour Archaeol*, 1937, pp 10-11

<sup>4</sup> *Jour Am Or Soc.*, 1936, p 129, n 8

<sup>5</sup> See provisionally Dossin in *Comptes Rendus*, 1937, pp 12-20, and the writer's sketch, *Bull Am. Sch Or Res.*, No 67, pp. 26-30.

<sup>6</sup> For the most recent statement of the evidence, with references to previous literature, see *Jour Pal Or Soc.*, 1935, pp 208 ff, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid*, pp. 231-34

<sup>8</sup> See *Quart Dept. Ant. Pal*, V, 111-126, where Ory and Iliffe have published the pottery from Râs el-'Ain.

<sup>9</sup> For the fullest recent discussion by the writer see *Jour Pal Or Soc.*, 1935, pp. 222-230 Two more recent studies of importance have appeared First is an article by Von Bissing in the *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XI, 325 ff, which is seriously weakened by lack of appreciation of the archaeological evidence from Palestine. Unhappily, Von Bissing is skeptical with regard to the validity of modern ceramic chronology, a fact which makes it hard to discuss such questions with him His remarks about the ramparts of *terre pisée* as well as about the horse burials of Tell el-'Ajjûl, both of which are to be attributed with certainty to the period between 1750 and 1550 B.C., are, therefore, quite beside the point Second we may mention the dissertation of Pahor Cladios Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Aegypten und ihr Sturz* (Gluckstadt, 1936), which is a convenient collection of the most important monumental material from Egypt, but has little value as an analysis of the data.

Extremely interesting is his reference to Farina's unpublished discovery that a dynasty of six Hyksos kings who reigned 108 years is mentioned in the Turin Papyrus. This is obviously the Fifteenth Dynasty of Manetho's list. This dynasty seems to have been preceded by the Semitic group discussed by the writer in his above-mentioned paper, and it was certainly followed by a dynasty of kings, two of whom bore the name Apophis—probably Manetho's Dynasty XVI. It may be added that if we adopt W. F. Edgerton's extremely probable astronomical date for the death of Amosis, the year 1546/5 B. C., the expulsion of the Hyksos may be placed about 1550 or a few years earlier, so that their total occupation of Egypt would last from c. 1730 to c. 1555, about 175 years. This would leave about seventy years for the period preceding and following the Fifteenth Dynasty, which may be provisionally dated c. 1700-1590 B. C. The reign of the fifth and greatest king, Khayana, fell in the second half of the seventeenth century, in any event.

<sup>10</sup> See *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, LI, pp. 65 f.

<sup>11</sup> See the writer's forthcoming sketch of early Northwest-Semitic dialects in the Transactions of the Rome Congress of Orientalists in 1935.

<sup>12</sup> See the references given by Flight elsewhere in this volume.

<sup>13</sup> See *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, No. 63, pp. 23-26.

<sup>14</sup> See *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, 1934, 108-15.

<sup>15</sup> See especially Friedrich, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, X, p. 295; *Die Welt als Geschichte*, III (1937), p. 62, Gaster, *Gaster Anniversary Volume*, 1937, p. 168.

<sup>16</sup> See especially the remarks in *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, No. 55, pp. 26 f. and 63, pp. 27-32.

<sup>17</sup> *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, No. 58, pp. 11-13.

<sup>18</sup> See *Jour. Eg. Archaeol.*, XX, pp. 137 f.

<sup>19</sup> See especially the writer's forthcoming article on "The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre," in *Jour. Eg. Archaeol.*, Vol. XXIII.

<sup>20</sup> See *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, No. 58, pp. 10-18. [This is no longer true: the fall of Canaanite Lachish can now be dated c. 1230 B. C.; see the writer's paper in *Bull. No. 68* (December, 1937).]

<sup>21</sup> See now Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 1937, pp. 231-266. Vincent's statements about the writer's changes of view and the reason for them are quite correct (p. 256, n. 2). In spite of the objections of Vincent and Noth, the writer adheres to the explanation of the story of the fall of Ai which was first tentatively given *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, No. 56, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> As a result of a long oral discussion with Gjerstad (October 13, 1937), the writer is happy to express his endorsement of the latter's chronology of the Iron Age in Cyprus, with a possible extension backward of the beginning of the Proto-geometric period (White-painted I) from c. 1050 B. C. to the beginning of the eleventh century. Gjerstad's chronological researches will have considerable importance for the date of the corresponding periods in Syria and Palestine.

<sup>23</sup> *Quart. Dept. Ant. Pal.*, V, pp. 90-110. It should be added that much

of the confusion with regard to the date of the emergence of Philistine pottery is due to the fact that the L H III (Mycenaean) crater with tilted horizontal loop-handles was imitated in Palestine during the thirteenth and probably the early twelfth centuries, cf *Annual Am Sch Or Res*, XIII, 91, on pl 27 10 In the Beth-shemesh collections at Haverford College are a number of specimens of this kind of handle, which is quite different in technique from the later Philistine handles

<sup>24</sup> Excavated in 1933; see *Bull Am Sch Or Res*, No 52, pp 6 ff

<sup>25</sup> See Speiser, *Bull Am Sch Or Res*, No 66, pp 14 ff, Albright, *Am Jour Archaeol*, 1937, pp 499-501

<sup>26</sup> See Schaeffer, *Syria*, XVIII, pp 128 f.

<sup>27</sup> See *Bull Am Sch Or Res*, No 63, p 10 f.

<sup>28</sup> *Iraq*, II, pp 179-210, cf *Bull Am Sch Or Res*, No 61, pp 30-31

<sup>29</sup> Cf especially Watzinger, *Denkmaler Palästinas*, II, pp 4 ff, cf *Jour Pal Or Soc*, XVI, pp. 56 f

<sup>30</sup> Iliffe, *Quart Dept Ant Pal*, V, pp 61-68.

<sup>31</sup> See Ginsberg, *Jour Bib Lit*, LVI, pp 142 f

<sup>32</sup> See Sukenik, *Jour Pal Or Soc*, XIV, pp 178 ff; cf *Bull Am Sch Or Res*, No 53, pp 20 ff

<sup>33</sup> See his monograph, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art*, in *Yale Classical Studies*, V, pp 157-304, especially pp 195 ff

<sup>34</sup> *Bull. Am Sch Or Res*, No 67, pp 6-16, *Am. Jour Archaeol*, 1937, pp 361-376

<sup>35</sup> See *Jour Bib Lit*, LVI, pp 145-176

<sup>36</sup> *Op cit*, pp. 24 f.

<sup>37</sup> *Quart. Dept. Ant Pal*, VI, pp 14-17

## THE PRESENT STATE OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

GEORGE A. BARTON  
University of Pennsylvania

The general trend of Old Testament investigation during the last twenty years has been on the whole to concern itself less than formerly with the analysis of books into documents or sources. It has tended rather to the investigation of the historicity of the earlier books, to the understanding of the historical and didactic books in the light of increasing knowledge of the ancient oriental environment, and to the endeavor to secure a better understanding of the prophetic and devotional material in the Old Testament by discovering the "situation in life" which called it forth. When, for example, one knows all the circumstances of the occasion when a prophet uttered an oracle or a psalmist wrote a psalm, including the religious conceptions which prevailed, he is in a much better position to understand the meaning of the prophet or to enter into a sympathetic understanding of the praises or prayers of the psalmist.

In this effort scholars have been greatly aided by archaeological researches. Never has the spade of the excavator been so active as since the conclusion of the great war. Never before has such abundant material for the reconstruction of knowledge of ancient oriental life poured into the museums of the world, and never have scientific methods made the least promising utensils of ancient men contribute such intelligible information as to their culture and daily life. It has been and is an inspiring and fascinating period in which to live and work. Although the results of the fifty years of criticism which preceded the great war have been widely assimilated and

accepted, nevertheless the cleavage between "fundamentalist" and "critic" still exists, although among real scholars it has grown narrower. One evidence of the bridging of the gap is that of late scholars who are critics in spite of themselves have made extensive use of archaeology in the effort to establish the historicity of Abraham or to vindicate Archbishop Usher's date of the Exodus. On the whole, however, scholars have worked in harmony and the last twenty years have witnessed a steadily increased understanding of almost every phase of Old Testament study. This will become clearer, if we examine the progress made in the various branches of Old Testament study separately.

The work of Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen had laid the foundations of Pentateuchal analysis on firm foundations more than fifty years ago and had wrought out with approximate certainty the division of the materials between the different documents. In spite of the natural desire of deeply religious scholars to reestablish belief in the tradition that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, the facts on which the documentary hypothesis rests are so incontrovertible that they carry conviction to the mind of all candid persons who really examine them. The investigations of the last twenty years have accordingly established more firmly belief in the once separate existence of the great documents, J, E, D, and P. The belief of the Graf-Wellhausen school that within these documents there are different strata justifying the use of the symbols J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, E<sup>1</sup>, E<sup>2</sup>, D<sup>1</sup>, D<sup>2</sup>, P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>2</sup>, P<sup>3</sup> has been generally accepted by those who have participated in Pentateuchal researches during the past twenty years. Some differences of opinion as to the dates of these documents have developed. Thus Sellin<sup>1</sup> and his school hold that J is earlier than E and was composed in the reign of David or Solomon, and that E, though younger than J, cannot have been written later

than Solomon's reign. By this school they are accordingly both assigned to the tenth century B. C. Sellin cannot think that the laws of D were all drafted in the reign of Manasseh about 650 B. C., but accepting Steuernagel's analysis of D as composed of a "thou" source and a "ye" source,<sup>2</sup> he holds that the original D was an old temple-law on which Hezekiah's reform (2 Kgs. 18: 1-6) was based, and that the P document was composed about 500 B. C.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the date for P,<sup>4</sup> Sellin's conception of the time of the composition of these sources has not been accepted. Eissfeldt, to quote but one scholar, in his *Einleitung* published in 1934 dates J in the time of Elijah and Elisha (ninth century), E, after the destruction of Samaria in 722 B. C. (Eissfeldt calls it 721), and P about 500 or before.<sup>5</sup> Other opinions as to the dates of these documents and the places where they were written will be mentioned as we proceed.

In the investigation of the origin and nature of the Pentateuchal documents two important points have emerged during the last twenty years. Eissfeldt in 1922 reached the conclusion<sup>6</sup> that the real J document was that which had been designated as J<sup>2</sup> and that the materials that had been ascribed to J<sup>1</sup> ought, to avoid confusion and misunderstanding, to be indicated by an entirely different symbol. Since this material consisted of stories of a popular nature, Eissfeldt thought of it as a book for the laity, contrasting in that respect strongly with P, which was a work particularly for priests. He accordingly designated it L, or the Lay document. The symbol has been accepted by some scholars. Perhaps in the future the four documents will be known as L, J, E, and P. D never contained a connected account of the whole history.

Another contribution of importance was made in 1927 by Julian Morgenstern,<sup>7</sup> and has been accepted as valid by Eissfeldt.<sup>8</sup> Morgenstern demonstrated that what had

been called "the decalogue of J"<sup>9</sup> in Exodus 34 was part of a document which he called "the Kenite document" and designated by the symbol K. This, he claimed, is the oldest document in the Hexateuch, arguing that it was written before the year 899 B. C. in Judah, and was in that year made the basis of the reform carried out by king Asa as described in 1 Kgs. 15: 9-15. This book, Morgenstern believed, began with the story of the birth of Moses, told of his leaving Egypt, his journey to the desert, his marriage to Zipporah, sister of Hobab, priest of the Kenites, of his return to Egypt, his leading forth the Israelites, the self-revelation of Yahweh to Moses at the sacred mountain, the violation of the sanctity of the place connected somehow with the worship of an image, because of which Yahweh commanded Moses to lead the people away from the mountain, whereupon there followed the incidents described in Exodus 33 and 34. Thus, according to K, the covenant between Israel and Yahweh was established. Yahweh directed Moses to make a "Tent of Meeting," promising to come, when Israel was in need, from the sacred mountain and meet Moses there, to give the people guidance through him. Hobab afterward visited Moses and gave him advice about judging the people and Moses asked him to accompany them, together with his tribe, and guide them through the desert. Morgenstern believes that after both J (L) and E had borrowed freely from the Kenite document, J<sup>2</sup> incorporated fragments of the document into the J code. Morgenstern supports his positions with great learning and convincing arguments and the present writer agrees with Eissfeldt that his conclusions are valid. It is the most noteworthy addition to our knowledge of the literary origins of the Pentateuch made during the last twenty years.

Apart from the analysis into documents much study



has been devoted during the past twenty years to other aspects of the Pentateuch. The recovery of the Hittite laws and a part of an Assyrian code, in addition to the code of Hammurabi, which had been recovered in 1901, gave new zest to the study of the Pentateuchal laws. In this connection, as was inevitable, the Decalogue has been subjected to renewed historical research. On the one hand writers like Sellin<sup>10</sup> assume that, because Egyptians and Babylonians formulated ethical precepts in pungent commands, it could be taken for granted that the moral decalogue of Ex. 20 and Deut. 5 was the work of Moses. At the other extreme Sigmund Mowinckel<sup>11</sup> in a learned monograph contends that the moral decalogue was not formulated until after the time of Isaiah, and that it assumed its fundamental form before the Babylonian Exile. The form in which it appears in Ex. 20 betrays in the motive assigned for the observance of the Sabbath the influence of the P document. It cannot, accordingly, have been brought into its present form until post-exilic times, and is probably a late editorial insertion where it now stands. The present writer has been convinced for some years that this ethical Decalogue originally took shape to embody and perpetuate the teachings of Elijah.<sup>12</sup> That he still believes, but is not convinced that it need be later than Isaiah.

The discovery originally made by Goethe and later demonstrated by Wellhausen that there is a ritualistic Decalogue in Ex. 34 has been confirmed by the researches of the last twenty years and is now one of the axioms of Old Testament study.<sup>12a</sup> R. H. Pfeiffer devoted to it a searching investigation in 1924<sup>13</sup> and Julian Morgenstern further elucidated it in his study of the Kenite document.<sup>14</sup> Pfeiffer dates it about 1200 B. C.

The relation of the laws of the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. 20: 24—23: 19) to the Babylonian, Hittite

and Assyrian codes has called forth much greater effort. The discussion was begun by an American scholar, Professor Leroy Waterman, in 1921, who contended that the Code of Hammurabi had been current among the ancient Canaanites, particularly those of Shechem, that many of its laws had been adapted by them to Palestinian conditions, and had then been taken over by the Israelites at Shechem in pre-Mosaic times<sup>15</sup>

Waterman was followed by Jirku<sup>16</sup> and Jepsen,<sup>17</sup> who endeavored by employing the methods of the pan-oriental school to discredit the work of Wellhausen. They formulated the theory of an old Hebrew body of laws distinguishable from strictly Israelite laws. Laws which exhibit affinity to the oriental codes were assigned to the former; those not so related, to the latter group. In his later work<sup>18</sup> Jirku made, however, an important and far-reaching discovery. He demonstrated that culturally the Hebrew laws were more primitive than the corresponding laws of the Babylonians and Hittites. This fact has no necessary bearing on the relative dates of the codes in question; a culturally backward community may exist long after one more highly cultured has passed away. It is evidence, however, that the Hebrew laws are in origin independent of the other oriental laws.

On the other hand Ring<sup>19</sup> and Morgenstern<sup>20</sup> have demonstrated the native Palestinian origin of the laws of the "Book of the Covenant." Morgenstern in particular in three successive and exhaustive monographs has shown that the code so designated was of gradual growth and continued to receive additions until after the Babylonian Exile. As it stands it is composed partly of *mishpatim*, or laws that begin with "If a man" do so and so, and laws which begin with "Thou shalt not." The laws of the first group follow the pattern of the laws in the other oriental codes and are probably derived from a compen-

dium of legal decisions; they refer as a rule to secular matters. The latter are of a more ritualistic or religious nature. There are two bodies of *mishpatim*, one in the "Book of the Covenant" and the other in Deuteronomy. Morgenstern believes that the former was taken from a code compiled in the kingdom of Israel, the latter, from a similar code compiled in the kingdom of Judah. He traces the beginning of such legal enactments, as opposed to mere custom, to king David, and holds that later political authorities added similar enactments. There must have been in both kingdoms a much larger body of laws than the excerpts which are found in the Pentateuch.<sup>21</sup>

In 1934 Professor Albrecht Alt, other of whose works will be mentioned presently, took up the argument of those who believe that Israel's laws were not a native development,<sup>22</sup> and endeavored to show that the *mishpatim* were formulated by the Canaanites and were adopted by the Hebrews during the settlement in Palestine and the reign of Saul. To the present writer his argument is quite unconvincing. That of Morgenstern is much more logical and in accord with known facts.

In connection with the investigations of the "Book of the Covenant" mention must also be made of the discussions concerning the code of Deuteronomy. Since the days of De Wette (1805) it had been believed<sup>23</sup> that the reform of king Josiah in 621 B. C. was based on the code of Deuteronomy, and that that code has been compiled either in the reign of Hezekiah, or of Manasseh, or of Josiah. Within the past twenty years this "fixed point" of Pentateuchal criticism has been challenged in two directions. On the one hand it has been claimed that Deuteronomy is a body of old North Israelitish laws that originally made no effort to centralize worship, but only to keep it free from contamination with Canaanite cults; on the other it has been held that Deuteronomy is a post-

Exilic compilation of impractical laws that were never seriously intended to be enforced.

The advocates of the early date of Deuteronomy are Oestreicher,<sup>24</sup> Staerk,<sup>25</sup> and Adam Welch, the veteran Professor of Hebrew in New College, Edinburgh.<sup>26</sup> Oestreicher maintained that the aim of Josiah's reform was not to centralize the cult, but to purify it; not *Kulternheit*, but *Kultreinheit*, and that the provision for centralization in Jerusalem was not regarded by the king as a permanent, but a temporary arrangement. Welch's treatment was much more brilliant and persuasive. Finding that the only regulation which confined the worship to one place is in Deut. 12:1-7, Welch argued that this is a later addition to the code. The code itself, in Welch's opinion, arose in Northern Israel. Its purpose was to caution the Israelites from worshipping in heathen shrines—shrines of Baal and Astarte. It was the result of the prophetic teaching and influence which began with the preaching of Samuel. Both Welch and Oestreicher interpret "the place which Yahweh your God shall choose" (Deut. 12:5) to mean "any place which Yahweh shall choose." They think the regulation identical with that of Ex. 20:24. Welch denies that the Hebrews ever took over Canaanite shrines. They were, he claims, tempted to worship in them, and he regards this law as the crystallization of the efforts of successive prophets to confine their worship to shrines of Yahweh's own founding. Two fatal objections confront the theory. As Bewer has shown,<sup>27</sup> the Hebrew translated "in the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose" can mean nothing else, and it is never in Deuteronomy contrasted with heathen shrines, but with the private residences of the Hebrews. Further, the historical sources in the Old Testament are silent as to the sort of prophetic effort which Welch postulates. For such reasons Welch's conclusions have not been widely accepted.

Nevertheless he, himself, has continued to advocate them in two further works,<sup>28</sup> and to reconstruct history in accordance with his theory.

The theory that Deuteronomy was a product of post-exilic Judaism was first propounded by C. P. W. Gramberg<sup>29</sup> in 1829 and was during the nineteenth century advocated by one or two German scholars and some disciples of Edouard Reuss.<sup>30</sup> In 1920 it was revived independently by G. R. Berry in America<sup>31</sup> and by R. H. Kennett in England.<sup>32</sup> Berry contended that the code of Deuteronomy is later than the code of Holiness (Lev. 17-26), or at least later than the kernel of that code, that Deuteronomy is dependent on Jeremiah, and that Deuteronomy was probably the law read by Ezra in the post-exilic gathering at Jerusalem described in Neh. 8-10. The code found in the temple, on which Josiah's reform was based, was, Berry urges, an early form of H. Kennett is, so far as Deuteronomy is concerned, in substantial agreement. In 1922 Hölscher advocated a similar point of view in an elaborate article entitled "*Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums*."<sup>33</sup> He first sought to determine the limits of the original Deuteronomy. His results in this were in substantial agreement with those of Steuernagel. His conclusion as to its date was that "Deuteronomy originated in the same priestly circles which later showed themselves hostile to Nehemiah. . . . It was not officially introduced as law book, but a program of reform prepared under priestly auspices." In 1923 Friedrich Horst published two articles, "*Die Anfänge des Propheten Jeremiah*"<sup>34</sup> and "*Die Kultusreform des Königs Josia*"<sup>35</sup> in which he enthusiastically supported Hölscher's theory. While these views were eagerly welcomed by a few scholars, they were vigorously opposed by a larger number, and have not been generally accepted. Hölscher and Horst, in order to maintain their thesis, find it neces-

sary to contend that the account of Josiah's reform in 2 Kgs. 22, 23 is thoroughly unhistorical—a view that does not commend itself. The more moderate theory of Berry and Kennett has not won its way. Not because of any dogmatic temper on the part of critics, but because of the inherent persuasiveness of the arguments in its favor, the conception of the date and function of Deuteronomy demonstrated by De Wette is still generally accepted.<sup>36</sup>

The problem of the historical value of the Pentateuchal narratives is of perennial interest and has received marked attention in the last two decades. It has been approached in different ways. The late Professor M. G. Kyle issued in 1920 two volumes, in one of which he proposed a new solution of the composition of the Pentateuch on the basis of different kinds of laws, mnemonic, descriptive, and hortatory, all of which he believed originated with Moses;<sup>37</sup> in the other, he endeavored to prove from archaeology that the whole Pentateuch is trustworthy history and may be taken at its face value.<sup>38</sup> The volumes were acute and learned, but revealed a mind incapable of appreciating the evidence on which the modern conceptions of the Pentateuch rest.

In Europe Jirku, Sellin, and Alt, accepting in broad outline the documentary theory, have sought in other ways to vindicate its substantial historicity. Jirku in 1918 attacked the question in a monograph, *Die Hauptprobleme der Anfangsgeschichte Israels*. He conceded that in Genesis many peoples were personified as persons. In Gen. 10 that is obvious. Jirku also regarded the twelve sons of Jacob as the personified tribes of Israel. The Habiri of the El-Amarna tablets he identified with the Hebrews, and regarded their presence in the El-Amarna letters as a confirmation of the historicity of Genesis 31-32. As the names Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph had been found in Babylonian and Egyptian sources, they must be

regarded as historical individuals. The sojourn in Egypt was a historical fact, but perhaps not all the Bne Israel participated in it. Moses led from Egypt the portion of the sons of Jacob who had settled there, mediated to them the covenant with Yahweh, the basis of which was an ethical decalogue analogous in its requirements to chapter CXXV of the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*. He failed to enter Palestine from Kadesh and, after wandering in the wilderness, conquered Sihon, king of the Amorites, after leading Israel through Edom and Moab. Moses, however, did not institute the body of laws known as "The Book of the Covenant." That, in Jirku's opinion, was adopted from the corpus of oriental law after the settlement in Palestine. Jirku thus, while conceding much more than Kyle, maintained the historicity of personalities whom he regarded as vital. He especially emphasized the historical character of Genesis 14, accepting the identification of Amraphel as Hammurabi. Jirku's *Altorientalische Kommentar zum alten Testament*,<sup>39</sup> while not discussing in detail the points made in his earlier work, was intended to supply a larger background of knowledge for the confirmation of his views.

Sellin, to whom Jirku dedicated his earlier work, expressed in 1923 in his history of Israel<sup>40</sup> substantially the same views. Later Albrecht Alt attacked the problem from a new angle.<sup>41</sup> He gathered instances which indicated that to refer to a god as the god of such and such a man was a Semitic custom. He inferred accordingly that all such instances must involve historical persons. Because Yahweh is called God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, therefore, Alt reasoned, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob must be historical persons. The argument is, however, fallacious. Even if the principle underlying it were sound, it proves nothing. Writers of fiction in every age give verisimilitude to their stories by

applying to their characters expressions used in real life of actual men. Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego of the third chapter of Daniel, whom Alt includes in his list, can hardly now be claimed as actual men by any serious scholar.

The theory that there were two settlements of Hebrews in Palestine and that only a part of the tribes were in Egypt was not original with Jirku; it had been convincingly set forth twenty-five years ago by the late L. B. Paton,<sup>42</sup> and accepted by the present writer.<sup>43</sup> Although combatted by J. W. Jack<sup>44</sup> and others, the archaeological evidences in its favor accumulating as the years pass are gradually turning the scales in its favor. As excavations have progressed, theory has given way to theory. Doubtless some of this history will be treated in another chapter of this volume. Since Olmstead's discovery that Joshua is mentioned in the El-Amarna tablets and that his activity appears to have been in the region of Pella and the Hauran,<sup>45</sup> there has been a growing conviction among scholars that in the Biblical traditions the heroic acts of the two conquests are often telescoped together in such a way that the historical perspective is lost. The latest attempt to disentangle the skein is that of T. J. Meek in his able book, *Hebrew Origins*.<sup>46</sup> According to Meek the Habiru were plunderers and soldiers, known to the Near East from the twentieth century to the eleventh. The name was originally an appellative, but it became a gentilic; the Hebrews sprang from this mass. They came into Palestine in two waves, one from the northwest with the Hurrians about 1800 B. C., the other from the northeast about 1400 B. C. The former Meek identifies with the Abrahamic migration, the latter with the Israelite (Jacob). Joshua was connected with this migration. They formed a confederacy and adopted a simple code of laws near Shechem.<sup>47</sup> The third immigration was a small tribe



(Levites) led by Moses from Egypt about 1200 B. C. They amalgamated with the Judahites, Simeonites, Kenites, and Calebites and formed a southern confederacy with its own code of laws accepted at Kadesh. Later they pushed northward into what was later Judaeen territory.<sup>48</sup> This theory reverses the order of Joshua and Moses and raises, perhaps, more questions than it solves. It has, however, the merit of courageously grappling with the problem.<sup>49</sup>

In reality the problem is not yet solved; we are only beginning to realize what the elements for its solution are. Were the present writer to venture an opinion, it would be that Abraham, Jacob and Joseph were real individual persons, but that many of the stories told of them were originally told of others. It is a well established fact that popular stories travel. Originally told of one character in one environment or nationality, they are transferred with modifications to another character in another environment. The parallel between certain features of the Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers" and the unjust accusation made against Joseph in the house of Potiphar (Gen. 39) has long been known.<sup>49</sup> There may well have been an individual Joseph in Palestine, for whom the city Joseph-el was named, while in the tales later told of him an episode may have been borrowed from the "Tale of the Two Brothers." Similarly there may well have been an individual Abraham in Palestine as well as in Babylonia, while some of the features of his life as recorded in Gen. 12-25 may have been borrowed from other traditions. Abraham's father is said to have been Terah (Gen. 11:26, 27). In the old Palestinian stories and myths, which are being recovered from Ugarit. (Ras Shamra) there is a Terah, who appears to be a moon-god. In a recently discovered myth or legend<sup>50</sup> Terah appears as a chieftain who fights the people of

northern Palestine, including the tribes of Asher and Zebulun. At times he is a man; at times a god. Theodor Gaster believes that later Hebrew tradition made Abraham the son of Terah and transferred to him the heroic characteristics which the older non-Israelitish story had attributed to Terah.<sup>51</sup> This is quite possible, but it is too early to dogmatize. Later discoveries will, we hope, give us more materials and afford a basis for more certain conclusions. We only suggest that a combination of individual historicity with unhistorical legend is perfectly possible.

During the past twenty years a considerable volume of research has been published concerning the Historical Books of the Old Testament, especially in Germany,<sup>52</sup> but it has not materially altered the trend of opinion established in previous decades. Judges and Samuel have been more closely scrutinized for sources, and efforts have been made to date them, but the general outlines of the picture previously drawn have not been materially altered. Two works in English deserve to be mentioned. C. F. Burney's *Book of Judges*, London, 1918, is an outstanding exposition of the book comparable to the commentary of George F. Moore in the *International Critical Commentary*. John Garstang's *Foundations of Bible History*, New York, 1931, is an attempt to test by archaeological and topographical studies the historical value of the oldest strata by detailed comparison of their statements with Palestinian topographical and archaeological studies. Garstang had undertaken the excavation of Jericho with the hope of gaining an exact date for its destruction, and had made numerous topographical studies in other parts of Palestine. In 1931 he thought he had reached fairly secure results, but more recent excavations have led to fuller knowledge, and the date of the Exodus, in which Garstang was especially interested, is not yet settled.

[v. *BASOR*, No. 58 (April, 1935), pp. 10-18; *RB* (1930), p. 403 ff., (1932), p. 264 ff.; *PEFQS* (1934), p. 123 ff.; Alt, *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina*, Leipzig, 1925 ed.]

Most of the extensive literature devoted during the last two decades to the Book of Isaiah has followed the lead set in 1892 by Bernhard Duhm in his *Jesaia* in Nowack's *Hand Kommentar*. Until then chapters 40-66 had been regarded as a unity and the work of Second Isaiah. Duhm adduced such convincing arguments for regarding chs. 56-66 as the work of a Trito-Isaiah that to this day the majority of Old Testament scholars follow him. During the past twenty years the great majority of writers on the subject have taken Duhm's contention as demonstrated and have discussed whether the servant poems were or were not quoted from another author, or have prosecuted those refinements of criticism which detect glosses which have been added to an earlier work. Into this atmosphere of microscopic dissection Professor Charles C. Torrey breathed a much needed draught of fresh air by the publication in 1928 of his book, *The Second Isaiah, a New Interpretation*.<sup>53</sup> Torrey maintains the unity of chs. 40-66 and believes that chs. 34-35 were written by the same poet as an introduction to them.<sup>54</sup> He finds in the whole work a few glosses, among which are the two references to Cyrus (ch. 44:28 and 45:1). These are shown to be interpolations by several considerations, one of which is that they dislocate the Hebrew meter in which contiguous matter is written. He thus integrates a work which criticism had sadly disintegrated. He makes it a consistent whole. He believes the prophet who wrote it lived in Palestine at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century before Christ. To the present writer Torrey's arguments are convincing, but they have not proven so to the great majority of scholars,

who continue to hold the views of Duhm.<sup>53</sup> The matter cannot accordingly be said to have been settled in favor of Torrey's theory.

The most noteworthy contributions to the understanding of the Book of Jeremiah during the past twenty years have been made by English scholars. Germans who have written on the book have devoted themselves more assiduously to the Hebrew text. Foremost among the English books is the late John Skinner's *Prophecy and Religion, Studies in the Life of Jeremiah*, Cambridge, 1922. Beside it stands Sir George Adam Smith's *Jeremiah, the Book, the Man, the Prophet*, New York, 1923. These books take one into the heart of the many problems with which the Book of Jeremiah bristles and help one to an intelligible idea of Jeremiah, his work, and his times. Of a more popular character are Raymond Calkins' *Jeremiah the Prophet*, New York, 1930, and T. Crouther Gordon's *The Rebel Prophet, Studies in the Life of Jeremiah*, London, 1931. These books do much to unveil to the student one of the greatest contributors to the progress of religious thought in the whole Old Testament—a figure which the prosaic work of Baruch and other scribes had done much to conceal.

The Book of Ezekiel, which presented to students of former generations the appearance of a unified work, has revealed itself to students of the last twenty years in quite different guise and has called forth a number of conflicting and mutually exclusive theories. As long ago as 1900 Kraetschmar had noted that many passages said the same thing as other passages and drew the conclusion that the book once circulated in two recensions which had been woven together.<sup>54</sup> Jahn explained these repetitions as glosses that had crept into the text.<sup>55</sup> Hermann thought the repetition due to the fact that the oral prophecies of Ezekiel were written down by others.<sup>56</sup> Gustav Hölscher

in 1924 published an investigation of the book, in which he claimed that only the oracles in Ezekiel that were cast in poetic form were genuine.<sup>57</sup> To him Ezekiel was a poet, not a legalist. All that seems legalistic and diffuse was added by another. By employing this criterion Holscher left to Ezekiel only about 143 out of a total of 1272 verses. Even the poems thus declared to be genuine had to be purged of many excrescences, so that the whole result was problematical. He found in the prose expansions of the book what he took to be references to the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B. C. and even to the rebuilding of the temple in 515 B. C. He accordingly dated the composition of the book between 500 and 450 B. C.

In 1930 Professor Charles C. Torrey published his book, *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy*.<sup>58</sup> Torrey's theory is in brief this. A man, probably of priestly rank, living in Jerusalem in the third century B. C. on the basis of 2 Kgs. 21:10, put into the mouth of a prophet of the time of Manasseh (he thinks that the "thirtieth year" in Eze. 1:1 can only be the 30th year of Manasseh) passionate warnings, and then reminded his readers how, when the warnings were disregarded, dire punishment followed. Some thirty years later an editor, in the interest of what Torrey believes was then a new theory, viz: that there was a Babylonian captivity and a return, inserted in Eze. 1:2, 3 references to the captivity and made other editorial additions which so successfully transferred all the prophecies to Babylon that for two thousand years no one perceived the hoax. The theory is set forth with all of Torrey's ingenuity (and he is very ingenious) and persuasiveness. It is, however, too ingenious. As one reads he is led to doubt that, were the theory true, even Torrey could have detected it!

In 1931 Dr. James Smith of St. Andrews, Scotland,

also published a new interpretation of Ezekiel.<sup>59</sup> As his book was in press before Torrey's was published, his work was quite independent of that of the American scholar. Like Torrey, Smith held that the prophecies in Ezekiel were addressed to the people of Palestine and appear to come from the reign of Manasseh. He also believes that they were spoken in Palestine and not in Babylonia. He differs from Torrey in believing that they are actually the words of a man of God who lived in Manasseh's reign, and that the prophet was a North Israelite who spoke to North Israelites. He interprets the "captivity" of Eze. 33:21 as the captivity of Dan and Naphtali inflicted by Tiglath-pileser in 734 B C.

In the next year Volkmar Hertrich presented still another study of Ezekiel.<sup>60</sup> In a manner similar to that of Torrey and Smith he demonstrates that many of the prophecies in Ezekiel were delivered in Palestine. He found in the book, however, a Babylonian framework which he believed to be the work of an exile, who desired to claim Ezekiel for the captivity. He concluded accordingly that two authors had contributed to the book.

In 1935 Canon John Battersby Harford issued his *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel*.<sup>61</sup> After reviewing the work of the scholars already mentioned, he examined the phenomena presented by the book and concluded that it contains the work of a pre-exilic prophet who lived in Jerusalem, which was expanded and enlarged by an editor who lived in Babylonia. It was this editor who added chs. 40-48.

The phenomena on which these writers base their theories of dual authorship are various. They include not only the repetitions already mentioned, but two accounts of the prophet's call, one in ch. 1:4—2:4 and the other in 2:6—3:9. At times the prophet is in Babylonia, at times he is "carried in the spirit" to Jerusalem, but on these

occasions he performs symbolical acts, which, in order to be significant, must have been witnessed by the people of Jerusalem in reality and not simply "in the spirit."

Another contribution to the problem is by Alfred Bertholet in his commentary written for the series edited by Eissfeldt.<sup>62</sup> Bertholet believes that Ezekiel uttered oracles in three places, in Jerusalem before its fall, in some city not far from Jerusalem (the "other place" of ch. 12:3 ff.), and among the exiles of Babylonia. He was called twice: first to his Jerusalem ministry by the vision of the roll (2:9 ff.) in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity (593 B. C.), and again in the thirteenth (which Bertholet reads instead of "thirtieth" in 1:1) year (585 B. C.) by the vision of the chariot-throne (1:4 ff.). It is thus explained why many prophecies should be placed in Jerusalem, how, being in a city of Judah, Ezekiel could hear of Jerusalem's fall on the same day (ch. 33:21). The circumstances which took Ezekiel to Babylon are not given, but indications are that he went unwillingly and that he never felt himself a member of the Jewish community there. The theory accounts for the change of tone in the prophecies from threats and doom in those uttered in Jerusalem to words of encouragement and promise spoken in Babylonia. The captives sorely needed consolation.

G. A. Cooke, in *The Book of Ezekiel* in the *International Critical Commentary*, which was issued in the autumn of 1937, but left the author's hands in 1936, concludes that Ezekiel is the work of a prophet whose activity extended from 593 to 573 B. C., but that it has been at many points worked over and interpolated by later hands. Among these interpolations are chs. 38, 39, the Gog and Magog apocalypse, and parts of chs. 40-48. Cooke's work was completed before that of Bertholet appeared.

At the moment the problem of Ezekiel is the most

difficult and thorny in the whole Old Testament, but the theory of Bertholet seems to promise a sane solution.

Of the literature devoted to the Book of Daniel during the last twenty years the two most weighty volumes are in English. They are by James A. Montgomery<sup>63</sup> and R. H. Charles.<sup>64</sup> Both are learned and exhaustive. While they differ as to whether chs. 2-6 were Babylonian stories written a century earlier and adapted to the Maccabaeen crisis, they mark no new trends in the general understanding of the book. They confirm the main conclusions of previous criticism.

In no department of Old Testament study has more progress been made in the last two decades than in the understanding of the Psalter. Through the labors of the Norse scholar Sigmund Mowinckel,<sup>65</sup> the American John P. Peters,<sup>66</sup> the German Hermann Gunkel,<sup>67</sup> and the English C. C. Keet,<sup>68</sup> the study of the Psalter has been revolutionized. It is now sought to discover the situation in life (*Sitz im Leben*) which each psalm expressed or to which it ministered. The psalms were employed in the temple services in connection with the sacrifices and the feasts and then, when the temple was far away or was destroyed, were adapted to worship in the synagogue. In the case of many psalms accordingly the situation in life leads the student back to a study of the liturgy of the temple. This is nowhere described for us; it can only be pieced together from clues that have survived here and there. When reconstructed it reveals phases in the pre-exilic religion of ancient Israel that were previously hardly suspected. For example, Mowinckel has demonstrated that a feature of the great festival of the New Year was the ceremony of the enthronement of Yahweh. A procession marched about the temple or the city carrying, in pre-exilic times, the ark. This they brought to the temple and enthroned Yahweh in his sanctuary. Psalms 24, 132, 96,



97, 98, and 99 were psalms employed at this ceremony of enthronement. Among the ancient Hebrews as among other oriental peoples the king was also a priest. Solomon, for example, officiated at the dedication of the temple. The Psalter contains not only a prayer for the king (Ps. 20), but a psalm to be uttered by the king (Ps. 18).<sup>69</sup> This last was not David as the superscription indicates, but was written for David's successor as verse 50 shows.

Former scholars such as Cheyne, Duhm, and Haupt believed that all psalms which referred to kings spoke of Persian, Hellenistic, or Asmonaeen kings. That view is now regarded as a mistake. Psalms which refer to kings are believed to be pre-exilic or, if reworked later, to have a pre-exilic nucleus. The Psalter, though compiled in its present form in the centuries of post-exilic Judaism, is seen (thanks to the newer method of study) to have its roots in the nation's life before the exile.

This aspect of the subject is reënforced by a study of Babylonian and Egyptian psalms and a comparison of them with the Psalter. Unique as Israel's religion became, its background was the common oriental culture of the other nations. Not only the hymns of Babylon and Egypt, but now those of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) are coming to our aid in the study of the psalms. Two scholars, at least, believe that Psalm 29 was adapted from the cults of North Palestine and Phoenicia.<sup>70</sup> Be that as it may, it is clear from a study of the psalms of Babylonia and Egypt that concepts once thought to be possible to Jews only after the exile are in reality much older. Ikhnaton's (Amenophis IV) hymn to Aton, composed before 1350 B. C., contains expressions strikingly like those in Ps. 104.<sup>71</sup>

This liturgical study of the Psalter takes us back close to the common life of ancient Israel. Some expressions, which are obscure to the modern man and which our

pious predecessors spiritualized, are now seen to have had their origin in the superstitions and beliefs of the ancient East. This is no disparagement. The Psalter speaks to the heart of the masses because it grew out of the life of the masses.

Some of the psalms are antiphonal. This is true not only of psalms of praise, but of psalms of prayer. In some psalms God answers. In Ps. 50 the greater part of the psalm is put into the mouth of God. It seems probable that in the early liturgical worship such portions were chanted by a priest, who spoke for God.

The Psalter, like the Babylonian collections of psalms, was not all devoted to public worship. It contains, like its Babylonian counterpart, psalms for private confession and devotion. In ancient as in modern times individuals stole away to a temple to pray.

The Psalter was collected after the exile. Many psalms were re-edited and expanded. New psalms were written. Some (1, 19:7 ff., and 119) were in praise of the newly adopted law. Perhaps as early as the eighth century prophets some psalmists revolted against animal sacrifice (see Psalms 50 and 51). Later editors endeavored to correct this (see Ps. 51:18, 19). In time the temple perished and the Psalter was taken over by the synagogue, but before that happened it had assumed its present form.

The trend of these studies has been to make us realize that the Psalter is the product of centuries of intense religious life and experience. It came out of realities that were necessarily crudely conceived at first, but which were refined by reinterpretation as experience advanced. Its essence is so real that it is still capable of such reinterpretation as to voice present-day experience.

To the "Wisdom Books" of the Old Testament much attention has been devoted during the last twenty years and considerable progress has been made in understand-

ing them. In the early part of the period marked contributions were made by English-speaking scholars. In 1921 Driver and Gray's *Job* was published in the *International Critical Commentary*—perhaps the best study of the book in any language.<sup>72</sup> In the previous year Morris Jastrow had contributed his study,<sup>73</sup> in which he reached the conclusion that the author of *Job*, when he had written some twenty-seven chapters, found the problem too difficult for him and abandoned the task. He regarded the remainder of the work as due to other writers. In 1922 Moses Bittenwieser advocated in a learned volume<sup>74</sup> the theory that the text of *Job* had been greatly confused by transpositions made in ancient times, and that insight had been given him to restore the original order. He accordingly rearranged the material, including the Elihu-speeches (chs. 32-37), which the majority of scholars regard as a later addition, distributing the utterances where it seemed to him they belonged, thus making quite a different book. In the same year C. J. Ball endeavored to correct and explain the text.<sup>75</sup> He devoted considerable space to the elucidation of Hebrew tri-literal roots as originally bi-literal, adducing Sumerian bi-consonantal roots in comparison! Continental scholars have also added their contributions to the discussion.<sup>76</sup> An American scholar has sought to demonstrate that *Job* is translated from an Arabic original.<sup>77</sup> These studies serve to bring into clear view the fact that the problems connected with this remarkable book are far from solved.

The most outstanding contribution to the understanding of the Book of Proverbs made during the period covered by this review was the publication in 1923 of *The Wisdom of Amen-em-ope*,<sup>78</sup> an Egyptian work dealing with the problems of life. The date of the Egyptian work is uncertain. Griffith believed that in its present form it dates from about 600 B. C. and that the original was not

earlier than the eighth century. Many passages in Amen-em-ope closely resemble passages in Proverbs and, while scholarly opinion differs, it is highly probable that the Egyptian work profoundly influenced our book of Proverbs. Indeed, Oesterley believes that parts of the third section of the book (chs. 22: 17-23: 14) were directly translated from Amen-em-ope.<sup>79</sup> Babylonia has furnished also a considerable body of proverbs, and it is becoming clearer that the collection of Hebrew proverbs was influenced by the example of neighboring peoples and in some instances the collectors borrowed.

Study of the Book of Ecclesiastes during the last twenty years has not seriously modified the results previously reached. The body of the work is that of a pessimist; it was retouched by an orthodox hand and thus secured a place in the canon. The main question that has been debated is whether the author of Ecclesiastes was influenced by Greek thought. The present writer contended thirty years ago that he was not—that his point of view was a natural outgrowth of Semitic points of view to which certain Babylonian texts furnish a parallel.<sup>80</sup> This position was challenged in 1925 by a New Zealand scholar, who endeavored to prove that Ecclesiastes was profoundly influenced by Greek thought, especially by the writings of Theognis who lived before 500 B. C.<sup>81</sup> It must be admitted that Ranston adduces some telling parallels, but it is still possible, I think, as Jastrow suggested, that Ecclesiastes, while influenced by the Greek scientific attitude of mind, held the Semitic point of view.<sup>82</sup> Human minds work in much the same way when placed in similar environments, and the avenues for the expression of pessimism are particularly limited. It is possible that both Theognis and Ecclesiastes were influenced by Babylonian thought,<sup>83</sup> and it is also possible that the similarities are due to similar workings of the human mind. Borrowing on the part of Ecclesiastes is also possible.

If the Song of Songs be counted a "wisdom book," a word should be said about it here. Toward the understanding of this book two suggestions have been made during the period we are reviewing. To the previously discussed interpretations (that it was an allegory of Christ and the Church, that it was a drama, and that it was a collection of songs to be sung at wedding festivities) Jastrow, in a posthumous work,<sup>84</sup> taking a hint from the Arabic love songs published in Gustav Dalman's *Palästinische Diwan*,<sup>85</sup> held that the book was a collection of twenty-three love lyrics which originated as folk poetry. In the next year T. J. Meek defended the view<sup>86</sup> that Canticles originated in an early fertility cult (Astarte or Ishtar cult), which the Hebrews took over from the Canaanites. Later in a composite volume devoted to the book<sup>87</sup> Meek enlarged his treatment of the subject and W. H. Schoff came to his aid with an endeavor to show that the commodities mentioned in Canticles are festival offerings. Schoff argued that the fact that Canticles is appointed to be read at the Jewish Passover is evidence that it was originally connected with the spring festival. A similar view has been taken by Ebeling<sup>88</sup> and is held as possible by Eissfeldt<sup>89</sup> Ebeling, instead of regarding the custom as ancient in Israel, thinks Manasseh introduced it. Since the Ugarit texts have yielded a liturgy which the present writer believes to be a liturgy for the spring festival at Jerusalem,<sup>90</sup> and in which such love plays an important part, and since such ministers of love were connected with the temple in Jerusalem down to the time of Josiah's reform (see 2 Kgs. 23:6, 7), he believes that we have in this theory the real explanation of the origin of the Song of Songs.

Apart from studies of particular books the Wisdom Books as a whole have received significant treatment. Ranston has devoted a volume to a discussion of their

problems and teachings,<sup>91</sup> D. B. Macdonald another to the Hebrew philosophical genius as manifested in the wisdom literature,<sup>92</sup> and O. S. Rankin still another to their influence on theology and religion.<sup>93</sup> Such studies take one away from mere problems of origins. Macdonald's volume is, like all his work, thoughtful, acute, and ingenious. It shows him as familiar with Greek thought as he is with that of the Arabs and Hebrews, but one wonders, on laying down his book, whether philosophy is quite the term to apply to the Hebrew genius. If it is, it has a different connotation than when applied to the Greek genius. Rankin's volume will reveal to those who find the Wisdom Books uninteresting or uninspiring reading that the early Christians held a different point of view. The influence of Hebrew wisdom has been profound.

A few books which look at the Hebrew people and history as a whole ought to be mentioned. Alfred Bertholet's *History of Hebrew Civilization*, translated by A. K. Dallas,<sup>94</sup> reviews the history and civilization of early Palestine, the civilization of the Hebrew invaders, their family and domestic life, as well as their political and intellectual life. John Pedersen's *Israel, its Life and Culture*,<sup>95</sup> after devoting nearly a hundred pages to such matters as Bertholet's book treats, discusses the Hebrew conception of the soul, the blessing, honor and shame, peace and salvation, righteousness and truth, how justice is to be maintained, sin and the curse, the world, life, and death. W. H. Graham and H. G. May's *Culture and Conscience*<sup>96</sup> passes in review the cultures of Palestine from the palaeolithic period onward, employing the successive cultures as a background against which to study the emergence of Israel's religion and ethics. Such studies take the reader far away from microscopic examination of individual problems and help him to see the makers of the Old Testament in perspective both of the long centuries which

have rolled over the East and that furnished by the many nations of the Levant. One cannot always accept without criticism the statements of writers who essay so much, as no scholar possesses a knowledge sufficiently wide to have an infallible judgment,<sup>97</sup> but this fallibility inheres in all scholarly work. These books no student of the Old Testament can afford to neglect.

A book devoted to a different aspect of Biblical appreciation is Duncan B. Macdonald's *Hebrew Literary Genius*.<sup>98</sup> The book has both the excellencies and the faults of the *Hebrew Philosophical Genius* already described. The author possesses keen literary appreciation and it has been cultivated by intimate contact with the best literature from that of the Greeks to the English. He has strong opinions and expresses them in ways that are often terse and striking. His points stick. Every line is instructive, though one is frequently compelled to differ from the opinions expressed. The book as a whole, however, helps one to get away from the mere criticism of documents, as though that were the end of all Biblical study, into that sanctuary which is the heart of great religious literature, in which the tools and the dust of mechanics are forgotten and one beholds God, beauty, and duty, and that which is dutiful is seen to be beautiful.

Perhaps in conclusion a word should be said about the advance during the period under discussion of our knowledge of the Hebrew language. The application to the Semitic tongues of the more exact principles of philological study by such scholars as Bergsträsser<sup>99</sup> and G. R. Driver<sup>100</sup> have given new conceptions not only of the functions of some of the parts of speech but also of their development. Arabic is no longer looked upon as the most primitive of all the tongues of the group, to the phenomena of which all forms should be referred for explanation, but it is now seen that either Akkadian or

possibly South Arabic (Minaean, Sabaean, and Qatabanian), which has many features in common with Akkadian, afford the better starting point for the study of origins.<sup>101</sup> Just now the discoveries at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) are bringing to light much new material expressed in a language closely akin to Hebrew and written at an earlier period. This new material, added to the application of the better methods which have already yielded so much, promise even greater progress in the decade just before us.

As one reviews the trends of Old Testament study during the past two decades, he is impressed with the change of emphasis that has been brought about. We have passed from the stage where documents and literary criticism seem of supreme interest to an intensive effort to recover the inner meaning of the different parts of the Old Testament. This effort has been made possible largely through that increased knowledge of the Near East which exploration and archaeological research has made possible. More and more we are coming to see the "situation in life" which called each part of the Old Testament into being. While origins do not explain everything, when one understands the genesis and the development of an idea or a form of devotion, he is better able to understand the condition to which it may minister.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, London, 1923, pp. 55 and 66.

<sup>2</sup> See Steuernagle, *Deuteronomium und Joshua* in Nowack's *Handkommentar zu alten Testament*, Göttingen, 1900.

<sup>3</sup> Sellin, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eissfeldt, *Erläuterung in das alte Testament*, Tübingen, 1934, p. 234 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the work cited in the preceding note, pp. 222, 227, 234 f., 258-267.

<sup>6</sup> Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. ix and 11 f.

<sup>7</sup> "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, IV, 1927, pp. 1-138; also issued separately.



<sup>8</sup> *Einleitung*, p 147

<sup>9</sup> See C A Briggs, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, New York, 1893, p 189 ff

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p 40 f, and W O E. Oesterley and T H Robinson, *The Hebrew Religion*, New York, 1930, p 151 f

<sup>11</sup> *Le Decalogue*, Paris, 1927.

<sup>12</sup> See *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, 1934, p. 352 ff.

<sup>12a</sup> Compare, e g., Gustav Holscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, Giessen, 1922, p 130, note 6 and Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, 1934, p 245.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLIII (1924), 294-310.

<sup>14</sup> See the work cited above in note 7.

<sup>15</sup> See "Pre-Israelite Laws in the Book of the Covenant," in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XXXVIII (1921), 36-54.

<sup>16</sup> *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum alten Testament*, Leipzig-Erlangen, 1923.

<sup>17</sup> *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom alten und neuen Testament)*, Stuttgart, 1927

<sup>18</sup> *Das weltliche Recht im alten Testament*, Göttersloh, 1927.

<sup>19</sup> *Israels Rechtleben im Lichte der neuentdeckten assyrischen und bethitischen Gesetzbücher*, Leipzig, 1926.

<sup>20</sup> "The Book of the Covenant," I, II, and III, in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, Vol. V (1928), 1-151; VII (1930), 19-258; and VIII-IX (1931-2), 1-150.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. "The Book of the Covenant," II (*HUCA*, VII), 241-253.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. "Die Ursprung des israelitischen Rechts," in *Berichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 86, Nr. 1, 1934.

<sup>23</sup> See De Wette's *Dissertatio critica*.

<sup>24</sup> *Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, 1923.

<sup>25</sup> *Das Problem des Deuteronomium. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Pentateuchkritik*, 1924.

<sup>26</sup> *The Code of Deuteronomy*, London, 1924.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLVII (1928), 309 ff

<sup>28</sup> See his *Deuteronomy. The Framework to the Code*, London, 1932, and *Post-Exilic Judaism*, London, 1935.

<sup>29</sup> *Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des alten Testaments*, pp. xxvi, 153 ff, and 305 ff.

<sup>30</sup> For a summary of those who held these views see L. B. Paton, *JBL*, XLVII, 322 f.

<sup>31</sup> "The Code found in the Temple," *JBL*, XXXIX, 44-51.

<sup>32</sup> *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue*, Cambridge, 1920.

<sup>33</sup> *ZATW*, XL (1922), 161-255.

<sup>34</sup> *ZATW*, XLI (1923), 94-153.

<sup>35</sup> *ZDMG*, LXXVII (1923), 220-238.

<sup>36</sup> In addition to the articles of Bewer and Paton already cited, see George Dahl, "The Case for the Currently Accepted Date of Deuteronomy," *JBL*, XLVII, 358-379

<sup>37</sup> *The Problem of the Pentateuch, a New Solution by Archaeological Methods*, Oberlin and London, 1920

<sup>38</sup> *Moses and the Monuments, Light from Archaeology on Pentateuchal Times*, Oberlin, 1920

<sup>39</sup> Leipzig, 1923

<sup>40</sup> *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1923-32, I, pp 22-78

<sup>41</sup> *Der Gott der Vater*, Stuttgart, 1929

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *JBL*, XXXII (1913), 1-53

<sup>43</sup> *The Religion of Israel*, New York, 1918, ch. iii

<sup>44</sup> *The Date of the Exodus*, Edinburgh, 1925

<sup>45</sup> Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, New York, 1931, 188.

<sup>46</sup> New York and London, 1936.

<sup>47</sup> This is the view of Waterman, see the reference above in n 15. In the judgment of the present writer it is an untenable view.

<sup>48</sup> Meek's treatment of the work of Moses and the effect of the covenant on later religious and ethical development in Israel is lacking in insight and is quite inadequate. His rejection of the widely accepted theory of the Kenite origin of Yahweh is accompanied by no adequate theory for the explanation of the facts, and disregards the Biblical evidence on which two generations of leading scholars have built. When (p. 89) he contends that the adoption of Yahweh by the Hebrews as their God had no more significance than the adoption by the Babylonians of a god of another race (Marduk), he ignores entirely the difference between the gradual merging of cults through contact and the lapse of time, and the adoption of a new religion consciously and under circumstances which call forth intense emotion. A much more just and adequate treatment is given in Pythian-Adams's *The Call of Israel*, London, 1934. The volcanic eruption by which Yahweh was believed to have manifested himself made an impression so deep that it formed the core of the national religious consciousness ever after. No theory that overlooks such deeply significant religious facts can offer the real explanation of the origin of Israel's God.

<sup>49</sup> See G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 7th ed., 1937, p. 365 ff.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Ch. Virolleaud, *La Légende de Keret*, Paris, 1936.

<sup>51</sup> See the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, July, 1937, p. 204.

<sup>52</sup> For summaries of this literature see Eissfeldt's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1934, pp. 278, 288, 302, and 600.

<sup>53</sup> For reasons urged against accepting Torrey's results cf. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, pp. 369 and 384. On the other hand R. B. Y. Scott and A. T. Olmstead have supported Torrey's contention that Isa. 35 belongs with ch. 40 ff., cf. *AJS*, LII (April, 1936), 178-191 and LIII (July, 1937), 251-253. I. Glahan and L. Köhler have written a work entitled *Der Prophet der Heimkehr (Jesaja 40-66)*, (1934), the title of the first

volume of which is *Die Einheit von Kap. 40-66 des Buches Jesaja*, which would indicate that it might advocate a theory kindred to Torrey's, but the book is not accessible to me. I cannot share Torrey's belief that there was no exile and return

<sup>54</sup> *Hesekiel* in Nowack's *Handkommentar*.

<sup>55</sup> G. Jahn, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, 1905.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. J. Hermann, "Ezechielstudien" in *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*, Nr. 2, 1908 and *Ezechiel* in Sellin's series of commentaries, 1924.

<sup>57</sup> *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch*, 1924.

<sup>58</sup> New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930

<sup>59</sup> *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, London, 1931.

<sup>60</sup> *Ezechielprobleme* (Beihefte ZAW 61), 1932. Cf. also Sellin, *Geschichte*, II, 1932, pp. 33-52.

<sup>61</sup> *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel*, Cambridge University Press, 1935.

<sup>62</sup> *Hesekiel*, Tübingen, 1936

<sup>63</sup> *Daniel* in the *International Critical Commentary*, New York and Edinburgh, 1927.

<sup>64</sup> *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Oxford, 1929. For a summary of German works on Daniel see Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, p. 567.

<sup>65</sup> *Psalmsstudien*, I-V, Kristiana, 1921-24.

<sup>66</sup> *The Psalms as Liturgies*, New York, 1922

<sup>67</sup> *Die Psalmen*, 4te Auf. in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, 1926

<sup>68</sup> C. C. Keet and G. H. Box, *A Liturgical Study of the Psalter*, New York, 1928.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Gressmann in *Studies in the Psalter*, edited by D. C. Simpson, Oxford, 1926, pp. 13-15.

<sup>70</sup> They are H. L. Ginsberg (see his *The Ugarit Texts*, Jerusalem, 1936, Appendix), and Theodor Gaster (see *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, July, 1937, p. 210).

<sup>71</sup> See Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 324 ff., and G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 7th ed., p. 502 f.

<sup>72</sup> Edinburgh and New York, 1921.

<sup>73</sup> *The Book of Job*, Philadelphia, 1920.

<sup>74</sup> *The Book of Job*, New York, 1922

<sup>75</sup> *The Book of Job*, Oxford, 1922

<sup>76</sup> For titles cf. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, p. 505 f.

<sup>77</sup> Frank Hugh Foster, *AJS*, XLIX (Oct. 1932), pp. 21-45

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *The Teachings of Amen-em-apt, son of Kanecht*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, London, 1924. See also G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 6th or 7th ed., Part II, XXIV, § 8 for a citation of literature on the subject.

<sup>79</sup> *The Book of Proverbs*, New York, 1929, p. xviii f. For parallels to the Book of Proverbs, see Oesterley, p. xlvi f., and Barton as cited in the preceding note.

<sup>80</sup> *Ecclesiastes*, in the *Inter. Crit. Commentary*

<sup>81</sup> Harry Ranston, *Ecclesiastes and the Early Greek Wisdom Literature*, London, 1925.

<sup>82</sup> *A Gentle Cynic, being the Book of Ecclesiastes*, Philadelphia, 1919, pp 150-152

<sup>83</sup> See Ranston, *op cit* ch. IX

<sup>84</sup> *The Song of Songs*, Philadelphia, 1921

<sup>85</sup> Leipzig, 1901 Other similar collections are E Littmann's *Neu-arabische Volkspoesie*, 1902, and that by J Musil in his *Arabia Petraea*, 1908

<sup>86</sup> See *AJSL*, XXXIX (Oct. 1922), pp 1-14.

<sup>87</sup> *The Song of Songs, a Symposium*, by M L Margolis, J A. Montgomery, W. W. Hyde, F. Edgerton, T J Meek, and W H Schoff, Philadelphia, 1924

<sup>88</sup> Cf. *ZDMG*, LXXVIII (1924), p lxviii f.

<sup>89</sup> *Einleitung*, p. 534

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *JBL*, LIII, 61-78 and *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, pp 361-364.

<sup>91</sup> Harry Ranston, *The Old Testament Wisdom Books and their Teaching*, London, 1930.

<sup>92</sup> Princeton University Press, 1936

<sup>93</sup> *Israel's Wisdom Literature, its Bearing on Theology and the History of Religion*, Edinburgh, 1936.

<sup>94</sup> London, 1926

<sup>95</sup> London and Copenhagen, 1926

<sup>96</sup> University of Chicago Press, 1936.

<sup>97</sup> For example, Graham and May, in *Culture and Conscience*, p 119, question whether a liturgy found at Ras Shamra can be as old as the time of Abraham and Melchizedek on the ground that archaeological evidence shows that the cult of the mother goddess did not enter Palestine until the Hyksos period. They overlook the fact that the *qedasboth* in the text in question are not a part of the cult of the mother goddess, but of the god El They are "wives of El" In reality anthropological study of mother goddesses reveals them as the oldest cult known. It can be traced back to Neanderthal man Most of the early male divinities developed out of this cult. From it they brought into the cults of masculine deities consecrated women who represented the fertility aspect of the cult out of which the male deity had evolved Such "wives of El" were perennial in such cults The evidence they adduce does not, therefore, justify the conclusion drawn

<sup>98</sup> London, 1933.

<sup>99</sup> *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen*

<sup>100</sup> *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System*, Edinburgh and New York, 1936.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. G A. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, p. 28 f.

## THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

HENRY J. CADBURY

Harvard University

Shortly before his death a year or two ago a leading British New Testament scholar expressed the opinion that there was no important future for New Testament research. The problems that had held attention in his youth had been solved and there was, he believed, little left to be done.

If this surprising judgment is not to be written off as the pessimism or inertia of old age, it may be taken to indicate at least superficially one impression of recent research in this field and the outlook for the future. It suggests, perhaps quite correctly, the absence in recent years of striking and obviously significant developments, or of any present awareness of soluble issues actually approaching solution. It is not incompatible, however, with genuine progress both achieved and anticipated. For the past quarter century has been a period in which many older positions have been confirmed and consolidated and in which newer attitudes may have been imperceptibly maturing or preparing for conscious presentation. A verdict on contemporary movements is always difficult. We are too near to them to have correct perspective. We do not know which of the venturesome guesses that crop up generation after generation in the well worked field of New Testament study will prove to be significant, nor do we readily see in the minutiae of discussion and commentary the larger pattern of determining viewpoints. Nevertheless an effort may be made to evaluate the inquiries and theories of recent decades and to conjecture the direc-

tion in which opinions have been moving and are likely to move with respect to the major questions in the field.

Underlying all New Testament study is the reconstruction of its text. Textual criticism is such a technical science that few lay readers are aware of its existence. We must be content here to indicate the more recent developments.<sup>1</sup> The problems and data as they were left more than half a century ago by the work of Westcott and Hort and their predecessors have been partly left unchanged. The inferiority of the text generally current after the fifth century is now universally acknowledged. Beginning apparently as an artificial standardization it prevailed unchallenged for ten centuries, during which time it has had its own characteristic history. A great merit of the otherwise often unprofitable though Herculean labors of von Soden's edition of the Greek text was his clear indication through family classification of some of the vicissitudes of the *Textus Receptus* in its earlier and later stages. The study of this later form of the text is a necessary contribution for our complete knowledge of the transmission of the New Testament. It can have little to tell us of what is the principal goal of this science,—the primitive or original text. For this desideratum we are dependent on the older sources or the older material surviving in later sources, that is, on the various forms of the pre-Antiochian text. The alternatives here have long seemed to be either, on the one hand, the so-called Neutral Text represented in the Fourth Century codices Sinaiticus (Ⲱ) and Vaticanus (B), a text believed by Westcott and Hort to have been kept relatively pure in the scholarly atmosphere of Alexandria and to represent most nearly the autographs, or, on the other hand, the less unified Western text existing in the famous Codex Bezae (D) and sporadically attested by other MSS including early versions and by the earliest quotations from the Fathers in various

parts of the Mediterranean world. The more recent study has tended to challenge the supremacy of the Neutral Text, such supremacy as induced editors of the Revised Version and of other critical texts to give it all but universally the place of honor, while Western readings were ignored or at most relegated to the margin. The suspicion has arisen that the smoothness and simplicity of the Neutral Text is not without the standardizing intervention of editors, while among the more unstable authorities of a vagarious "Western" tradition may be found not a few more primitive readings. The Western Text is itself therefore the unsolved conundrum.<sup>2</sup>

The most distinctive step towards solution has been the isolation from within this complex of an element or text that seems to deserve a name and place of its own. Through the labors of Lake and Streeter together with other scholars it has been proved that a special form of text, as old as Origen and employed by him at least in his later years, is represented in an interesting group of sources,—one of them the Koridethi uncial MS (Θ), some of them important minuscules, including the two striking families known as family 13 (also called the Ferrar group) and family 1, and the Armenian and Georgian versions. Thus instead of two pre-Antiochian texts we now have three: the Caesarean, as the newly discovered type of text is called, the Neutral, and the Western. The last, even when the Caesarean is excluded from it, remains still a rather eccentric looking congeries. It continues its claim to high antiquity but its two early rivals are also now clear rivals to each other.

The discoveries just described have been made without the use of much manuscript evidence that was not long available. Probably further progress may be made by similar painstaking investigation of the older evidence. Even the Caesarean text is not yet thoroughly determined

beyond the single gospel of Mark. At the same time the recovery of new MSS, preferably older ones, is always a hope, often disappointed, though strikingly gratified in recent years. The discovery of papyri in Egypt yielded for half a century very little light on the New Testament Text. The fragments recovered before 1930 were disappointingly few in number, slight in extent, late in date, and uninformative. Lately the record is altogether different. Following hard upon the publication of two early fragments of the Book of Acts, one of which at least proves the currency in the third century in Egypt of some of the most distinctive readings of the Western text, Mr. Chester Beatty and the University of Michigan acquired and offered for prompt publication what is altogether the largest and oldest group of New Testament papyri yet known. Thus fully a century older than the great codices we now have a MS of the Pauline epistles very largely preserved, an extensive but less complete MS of the Gospels and Acts, and a MS of the Book of Revelation. While their whole significance is not yet clear, these new discoveries raise new problems rather than settle old conjectures. They show that in Egypt the Neutral Text was less influential sometimes than the Caesarean, so far as we are ready yet to distinguish a Caesarean text. The Pauline MS on the other hand shows many extraordinary agreements with B, incidentally confirming the omission of "in Ephesus" in Ephesians 1, 1 and offering its own variation to the many extant varieties of order in the Pauline epistles and a new arrangement of the doxologies in Romans. A new insight into the form of early Christian books has been confirmed by the latest recovered papyri. They show that books in leaves were used by the Christian copyists in the Second and Third Centuries and not, as formerly believed by scholars, only rolls or scrolls. Possibly we shall have to revise our imagined picture of the actual autographs accordingly.



Though they bear less directly on the New Testament text a few other manuscript discoveries may here be mentioned. A fragment of the gospel of John, long at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, but only lately published, has the honor of being the oldest piece of Christian writing known. The palaeographers most competent to judge of its date place it near the middle of the second century. It may therefore be cited by literary critics as the earliest witness to the gospel of John and by historians as the first evidence of Christianity in Egypt. Not more than a half century younger is the fragment of an uncanonical gospel on a papyrus in the British Museum. Though it was hailed at its first publication as a source of our known gospels, it is more likely an early compilation based upon them, as was the Gospel of Peter. It also is evidence to the currency of the gospel of John. Better known, though only in Arabic or Latin texts, has been the harmony (*Diatessaron*) of Tatian. Since he lived both in Syria and in Rome there has been some doubt whether Tatian's work was written originally in Syriac or was translated from the Greek into the Syriac. A parchment fragment of the Greek seems to have proved the second alternative. This piece was found, it may be noted, not, like the others, in Egypt, but at Dura (Europos) on the Euphrates. This fact with the announcement of papyrus discoveries in southern Palestine suggests as a bare possibility that early New Testament manuscripts may some day be available from other lands than Egypt with a consequent widening of our data on the geographical provenience of the text which they record. Only as New Testament Apocrypha may we include an extensive papyrus fragment of the original Greek *Acts of Paul*. Published previously only in a defective Coptic manuscript, though known in Greek already to Tertullian, this famous piece with its story of the baptized lion is a welcome

addition to our reconstructed store of early Christian literature.<sup>3</sup>

If we may judge from the recent past, archaeological research has less to offer for the advancement of New Testament studies than it has for other studies dealt with in this volume. It is true that the sites of several New Testament cities still await the excavator's spade. Caesarea, Pisidian Antioch and Lystra are examples. Antioch on the Orontes and Tarsus are now fields of active scientific archaeology but the results thus far tell us less on the Greco-Roman civilization of New Testament times than have the recent campaigns in cities with more doubtful contacts with New Testament story, Samaria and Jerash. For that story is not a story of political or national or economic history but of individual lives or humble groups which hardly left their mark on the monuments which civilization erects in stone. The testimony of archaeology is to the environment of the early Christian movement rather than to specific events and persons. Its quality may be illustrated from a list of some recent discoveries.

In Jerusalem we have now identified an inscription that marked the tomb of Uzziah (compare the tomb of David, mentioned in Acts 2:29).<sup>4</sup> Hundreds of ossuaries have been studied,<sup>5</sup> a testimony to the custom of using tombs until the bodies decayed, after which the bones were removed and the chamber in the tomb was ready for a new burial. The currency of New Testament names is indicated by those scratched upon these contemporary objects—including several with the heretofore unattested Sapphira (Acts 5:1).<sup>6</sup> At Jerusalem also a second though less perfect copy of the Greek inscription has been recovered which warned Gentiles from passing the parapet which bounded the court of the Israelites in the Herodian Temple (Acts 21:28).<sup>7</sup>

In Galilee the excavation of several synagogues throws

light upon the architecture and decoration of the buildings mentioned in the ministry of Jesus, while an inscription erected in Nazareth in the reign of Tiberius by Roman authorities forbidding the disturbance of graves offers a tantalizing suggestion that the story that the "Nazarenes" had removed the body of Jesus (Matt. 28:13) had actually come to the ears of the government.<sup>8</sup>

At the site of ancient Ephesus the Austrian archaeologists continue to reveal the scenes of Paul's eventful ministry. Mention may be made of a long inscription in which the Roman respect for the prestige of the temple of Artemis and for the sanctity of its treasures is expressed.<sup>9</sup> American excavations in the *agora* at Athens have identified with a good degree of certainty the probable site of the Stoa Basileios in which, rather than on the hill whose name it bore, the court of the Areopagus probably met in Roman times,<sup>10</sup> while at Corinth with less certainty the site of the judgment seat of Gallio is pointed out above the Hellenistic foundations laid bare likewise by the American School of Classical Studies. Two Corinthian inscriptions suggest comparison with Paul's letters. In one is mention of the local *macellum* or meat market (cf. 1 Cor. 10:25), the other states that Erastus in appreciation of the honor of office as aedile laid at his own expense a stone pavement (cf. Rom. 16:23).<sup>11</sup>

In connection with Corinth may be mentioned the establishment of a fixed date in New Testament chronology. Partly discovered before 1894 but later supplemented, an inscription erected at Delphi is recognized now as showing that the proconsulship of Gallio and with it Paul's long first visit at Corinth included the summer of 51 A. D. Other Roman governors mentioned in the New Testament still defy exact dating, though we should like to know when Sergius Paulus was incumbent at Cyprus (Acts 13:7), and particularly in what year Festus succeeded

Felix as procurator of Judaea (Acts 24:27). Even the mention of Quirinius (Luke 2:2), though his career in the service of Rome is now better known, still fails to establish satisfactorily a fixed chronological date for the birth of Jesus, and the suspicion remains that the connection made by Luke with the census is unhistorical.

Except for the letters of Paul that can be related to his Corinthian sojourn the dating of New Testament writings has made no more progress than the dating of New Testament events. On the contrary as we shall see a whole series of new theories of their origin has disturbed the chronology which tradition or criticism had awarded them. Particularly disturbing is the doubt as yet scarcely openly expressed of the usual dating of certain post-canonical writings among the Apostolic Fathers with their long-trusted testimony to New Testament writings.

Even when not illuminating the New Testament in detail archaeology and every other form of the study of antiquity may indirectly contribute to our understanding of it. Though the unity of the classical civilization with the environment of early Christianity is less appreciated than it was some two centuries ago by scholars in this field, there are some signs of the breakdown of barriers between specialists in the "secular" and "sacred" areas. Not only may a new inscription, or a new monument when discovered, give new local color to a specific item in the scriptures: such archaeological discoveries often increase our general understanding of the ancient world. It may not serve the apologetic motive of confirming the historicity of the story; it will prove rather the lifelikeness and verisimilitude and antique flavor of the New Testament. Along the same line progress is made by the renewed and wider study of literary sources.

Nowhere may this better be illustrated than from the field of Jewish studies. The preceding generation was

marked by the new acquaintance acquired of the Jewish apocalyptic literature. In the most recent decades the rabbinic literature apropos of his studies has been made available to the Christian scholar. Billerbeck's *Kommen-tar* and Moore's *Judaism*, in German and in English respectively, may be named as representative.<sup>12</sup> They reveal, if new revelation is necessary, the accordance of much in Jesus or in Paul with the thought categories of their religious inheritance in somewhat the same way that the Jewish apocalypses disclosed to our predecessors a similar accordance with that special aspect of Judaism.

But the renewed appreciation of "normative" Judaism has only made more acute several older persistent problems. Is the Judaism of the rabbis really normative for New Testament times? And if so, how are we to account for either the offence to his foes or the influence on his friends of so normative a Jew as Jesus? The problem here is too often conceived in terms of apologetic. Was Jesus original or not? It is rather a question of historic influences. Again what was the extent of apocalyptic in orthodox Judaism? How clear was the contemporary hope of a Messiah? Or was the Christian movement both under Jesus and even under the more inscrutable Paul Jewish in some more sectarian and unfamiliar use of that term? How far did Hellenistic Judaism prepare the way for the Hellenistic Christian cult?

These questions—and the list could easily be extended—suggest a new caution in speaking too narrowly of First Century Judaism, and explain a new venturesomeness in conjecturing the Jewish roots of Christianity. The latter phenomenon is easier to illustrate than the former. Robert Eisler for example has offered to the incredulous world in a work of great erudition the theory, based on an alleged primitive form of Josephus preserved in Slavonic, that Jesus offered himself as a thoroughly military political

Messiah.<sup>13</sup> Professor Goodenough has begun a series of studies calculated to prove that Alexandrian Judaism, as exemplified in Philo, embodied with normal Jewish legalism a fully developed and consistent mystery cult resembling and anticipating Pauline sacramentalism as well as the pagan mysteries which a recent generation of scholars first brought into comparison with Paul.<sup>14</sup> Only a very patient inquiry and testing of the whole body of Jewish evidence may be expected to lead forward to secure results.

It would appear that one Jewish element in early Christianity—the apocalyptic—has been slowly winning its acceptance among scholars whose predecessors were so shy in accepting the principal thesis of Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer. The reasons for that earlier shyness were not primarily critical. But now, even if regretfully, more justice is being done to the probability that the thoughts of Jesus were in accord with a vivid expectation of an age to come and that the theology of Paul is shot through with apocalyptic and supramundane mythology parallel to any juridical or mystical types of expression which it contains. A new attempt to escape this conclusion in its less welcome bearing is to be met with in the theory of a realized eschatology expressed by the late Rudolf Otto and by C. H. Dodd, but an increasing consensus of opinion seems to have arisen in favor of the futuristic aspect of the older apocalypticists.<sup>15</sup> At the same time much remains unsatisfactorily adjusted to such acceptance, as the ethical element in Jesus or Paul, while such matters as the origin and meaning of "Son of man" and the question whether Jesus conceived himself to be that Son of man are not greatly advanced by recent thought. If, as a clear perspective often proves, the most important development of a period of study is the steady and unspectacular acceptance and solidifying of opinions previously widely challenged and denied, we may set

down as a feature of the recent past, at least among informed students of New Testament criticism, the acceptance until it is taken for granted of that alien and unmodern eschatology to which the New Testament itself bears witness. "The stone which the builders rejected" in the last generation is becoming in our time almost "the head of the corner."

Compared with the Jewish environment and its influence on Christianity the non-Jewish environment presents even greater difficulties. For a brief time it was thought that in the newly published Mandaean literature could be found a key to much New Testament thought. More careful inquiry into the historical relation of the movement has practically banished the material from the commentaries as rapidly as it was introduced into them. The mystery religions of the Orient so vigorously exploited in Pauline studies only two or three decades ago still enjoy more attention than I believe they deserve, though a more cautious attitude admits that they are not well known, entered the west too late to have much influence on the New Testament, and can be cited if at all, like Mandaeism, as illustrative of common religious motifs or as parallels rather than as sources.

The worship of the Roman Emperor cannot be denied contemporaneity with the New Testament. Classical students have been actively discussing of late its history and development as well as its antecedents in the reverence paid to Hellenistic kings. But no ingenuity has succeeded in disclosing new hints of its impact on the New Testament. Indeed one growing school of interpreters of the Book of Revelation denies for that volume with its beasts and seven hills any explicit reference to Rome, its emperors or their cult.

In the absence of organized religious systems affecting early Christianity our only hope for insight into its non-

Jewish sources must be a better knowledge of a whole congeries of superstitions, magic, folklore and religion. This world of syncretism and sub-surface religiosity can only be sensed and interpreted by an extraordinary width of reading in scattered and recondite sources followed by an uncanny power of synthesis. Few individuals are in a position to achieve this clairvoyant historical imagination. One suspects in fact that the materials are as yet, perhaps permanently, lacking. The kind of thing is essayed in Nock's *Conversion*, which forms an interesting contrast to the more formal earlier attempts in Rohde, Friedländer or Wendland.<sup>18</sup> The New Testament student at present must only rejoice when in some few minor details or in some quite general way he can recognize its religious contemporary color by his knowledge of surrounding life,—in the philosophic missionary, the religious clubs, the atmosphere of miracle or demons. There is for example the field of astrology whose influence on the Book of Revelation in a quite moderate form can hardly be doubted; there is the demonology not only patent in the story of the gospels but subtly underlying Paul's soteriology. To mention exact examples would raise them to a rank of too great importance, when their value is rather to indicate how much influence or parallelism one could find who was steeped in the feeling of antiquity. The absence of traceable Gentile religious influence on the New Testament is all the more remarkable when one recalls that it is all written in Greek, that even Jesus' ministry was spent in the largely Hellenized country of Galilee and that Paul's active mission and the churches that he founded were in areas primarily non-Jewish.

Gentile secular influences are more readily assumed. The contention that the New Testament Greek resembles the contemporary popular Greek, as disclosed among other sources by the papyri so abundantly recovered in Egypt,



has not been seriously undermined.<sup>17</sup> One should mention, however, the revival in some quarters of the theory of translation of parts of the New Testament. This theory would account for the absence of Hellenic elements in the contents of the books, if they were really first written in a Semitic language for readers in this tongue. The Revelation of John quotes the Old Testament in a form which differs from the wording of the Septuagint, and among its solecisms and idioms are some that can be attributed to a Hebrew original.<sup>18</sup> Such phenomena could be explained as the influence of the author's own use of Semitic speech and perhaps some knowledge of some Semitic traditions in writing. C. F. Burney before his death urged not merely a Semitic style behind the poetic passages in the synoptic Gospels, but a process of actual translation from the Semitic as the clue for idiosyncrasies and even for possible errors in the gospel of John.<sup>19</sup> But a more complete and extensive dependence on Semitic originals is involved in the theory of Professor Charles C. Torrey, long maintained though published only in part and in successive instalments.<sup>20</sup> Except the first four verses of Luke and the last thirteen chapters of Acts he believes that all five of the narrative books of the Evangelists are direct, literal translations. The originals were works of identical scope with our Greek books all written in Aramaic, except the first two chapters of Luke which were in Hebrew.

Professor Torrey is prepared to supply a retranslation into the original and to show thereby in many verses the effect upon the Greek which he believes to be often untrue to the Hellenistic idiom as well as misrepresentative of the underlying Semitic. The published examples of Torrey do not often agree with those of earlier scholars who sought evidence for the same thesis. They have convinced more Semitists than Hellenists. Many would con-

cede occasional influence of Semitic idiom upon the Greek of these volumes without assuming the continuous effect of any translated source. But a theory so stoutly maintained as destined to become the accepted solution of gospel origins by a Semitist of recognized ability and acumen must at least be reckoned with. For it carries with it other implications than purely philological ones. It means that we must assume the existence in the Aramaic speaking church of a considerable body of literature, and that we must date the authors of our gospels (as distinct from their translators) some decades nearer to the events that they record than has been usual heretofore. These earlier dates carry with them some greater presumption of accuracy of contents.

Although Professor Torrey regards the usual solution of the synoptic problem as improbable, that is, the use by Greek Matthew and Luke of two prior sources, Mark and the lost collection of Jesus' sayings commonly called Q, his own solution is even more complicated. He accepts a very similar scheme of relationship for the lost Semitic originals, and then in order to account for the extent of verbal similarity in the Greek he has to assume that the later translators also depended on the earlier translators in much the same way as the original writers depended on each other as revealed in the similarity of content.

For the Synoptic gospels when regarded as Greek productions there still remains the problem of literary relationship, since it is now universally agreed by scholars (except those to whom the Papal Commission's denial is binding) that they are not independent works nor even, as was claimed a generation ago, dependent upon common oral tradition. For over half a century the two-document hypothesis, as it is called, has maintained and increased its hold as the consensus of opinion. One recent writer does not hesitate to say that the question is settled

for all time. According to this hypothesis Mark substantially in its present form and a body of common material called Q are two prior sources and were used independently by the First and Third Evangelists. Additional speculations of various sorts do not fundamentally undermine this theory. We may mention the evidence given by certain manuscript readings which suggest that the Mark used by Matthew and Luke differed from our Mark in the same slight way that the earliest extant manuscripts of the gospels differ now and then in text from each other. The possible existence of other sources for the gospels of Matthew and Luke is not inconsistent with the fundamental solution, but theories about them remain wholly conjectural no matter how assuredly scholars may name them—L a supposed source for Luke's special material, and M the corresponding symbol for Matthew's *peculium*. Canon Streeter's original and inclusive book, *The Four Gospels*, attempts to disentangle these and to date and place all the gospel writings somewhat definitely. His best known contribution is his theory of what he calls Proto-Luke.<sup>21</sup> He believes that before our third gospel was composed, someone—perhaps the very same author—had already collected into a continuous narrative all the non-Markan material now in Luke, whether derived from Q or from Luke's special source. Our present Gospel is not therefore merely an expansion of Mark by the injection of *dissecta membra* from Q, L, etc., but rather the expansion of Proto-Luke by inserting into it slices of Mark. From some points of view such a theory differs little from the usual hypothesis. A checker board may be described as red squares on a black ground or black squares on a red ground; and in any case it is a theory difficult either to prove or to disprove. It is a wholesome reminder of the hypothetical character of all source criticism in this area. It is not a denial for example of the existence of

Q, it suggests merely that that common material had been already combined with other material not known to Matthew before it came to Luke's hands. Probably the very existence of Q will be called into question in the future, while the hope of differentiating written sources in Mark and of strands or diverse sections of Q may be revived. These are not at the moment characteristic speculations in contemporary gospel criticism.

For a really new chapter in gospel study one must turn to the new German school called *Formgeschichte*.<sup>22</sup> At the outset it should be observed that this newer criticism is not destructive of the source criticism of the older generation since it concerns itself with the pre-literary rather than with the written stage in the history of the gospel materials. It should also be observed that it is not without precedent since for some time scholars have recognized that the written gospels rest on oral tradition and that the interests of the early Christians have affected that tradition in important ways. Form criticism, however,—if we may substitute for the German an English term,—is the attempt to recover systematically the history of the gospel material in its formative oral transmission. It emphasizes the fact that what the evangelists received had been used before them in Christian preaching and teaching. No purely antiquarian interest but practical considerations determined the content of the message about Jesus. Attempts are made to distinguish the different classes of gospel *pericopae*, and to suggest the nature of their use and the effects of that use upon them. What Jesus said and did came to be reported in a way and for a purpose sometimes alien to our own interests, to the interests of the final evangelist, and to the original interests of Jesus. Each episode was once independent and self-contained. With few exceptions the arrangement of them in order is editorial, arbitrary and unchronological. Dif-

fering motives appear side by side in successive paragraphs, or even within a single paragraph. In some cases motives quite foreign to the original setting are superimposed upon a story, or borrowed from cultures or religious developments outside the circle of Jesus' own career.

The influence of form criticism is likely to be greater in its by-products than in its products. Thus far it has been analytical rather than constructive and has overemphasized classification. Even beyond Germany some of its significance is already apparent along lines which may be summarized as follows. Our knowledge of Jesus rests on traditions that antedate the actual writing of the gospels. This greater antiquity does not prove greater accuracy, since from the first what was said of him included interpretation. Objective reports do not survive but only memorabilia usable for the Christian mission. The period of oral transmission was at least a selective process; innocent and unconscious revision, exaggeration, idealization (though not of course by modern standards) were early at work. Simplification and omission of unnecessary details have left their obvious effects on the extant material and we may suspect that sometimes the original bearing of a word or anecdote escapes us. Every item must therefore be studied in itself, and in comparison with similar items. Its context in a written gospel is irrelevant. In fact the order of the gospels is purely editorial, a later construction even when the separate episodes are early and accurate records. A chronology of Jesus' life is less possible than ever, while many of the most striking words and events in our sources must be subjected to cross-examination that ends often in extreme skepticism. On the other hand the early Church is reflected with faithful variety in the marks it has left in the gospel material which passed through its hands, and if they are far from photographic portraits of the founder the gospels are

at least the intelligible construction of a living and abiding tradition in the primitive church. Such fiction as they contain is not deliberate, such selection as they make is based on practical considerations, and much that they include has an antiquity and a presumable genuineness that could not otherwise be possible to writers of so late a date.

Quite apart from *Formgeschichte* the historicity of the gospel material has of course received considerable discussion. The virgin birth, the resurrection and other miracles continue to have their defenders and their assailants. The extreme view that Jesus never lived, sponsored early in this century by a leading advocate each in Germany, England and America, has now found an able defender in France (and a no less able opponent)<sup>23</sup> but is not seriously held by any considerable number of scholars or lay persons in any land. The evidence outside the gospels for the existence of Jesus is confessedly scanty but the testimonies of Tacitus and of Josephus (the latter originally in a somewhat different form) and of the Talmud have been strongly defended in recent years as independent and valid witness. The exact mixture of fiction with fact in the gospels is differently estimated—the decision made in each instance is necessarily often subjective—and an agnostic attitude seems often the only escape. Thoroughly honest and capable writers record the life of Christ very differently. The English reader has now available in translation recent works by Klausner, Goguel, Guignebert and Bultmann in which he may see in samples the outcome of historical method as applied by continental scholars to this most delicate field of research.<sup>24</sup> The extreme skepticism of *Formgeschichte* is manifest in the last named work. Goguel not only answers effectively the Christ myth but takes a more credulous view, while Guignebert attempts to distinguish the credible, the

unknowable, and the improbable. The Jewishness of Jesus which Klausner's life and other recent studies of Judaism have emphasized establishes his historicity at the expense of his originality, while form criticism indicates the primitiveness of Christology at the expense of the accuracy of the records. But the details of the gospel have been so variously debated as regards both historical value and historical meaning that a consistent impression of the movement of thought in this area is impossible either to secure or to convey.

Something should be said here about the movement in Germany associated with the name of Karl Barth. It is of course not so much a school of Biblical criticism, as a theology, a dialectic theology or theology of crisis, but its influence on or confluence with certain lines of purely scientific criticism can scarcely be ignored.<sup>25</sup> Barth's first great exposition of his position took the unexpected form of a commentary upon Romans. As will be suggested later his emphasis upon the absolute sovereignty and the supereminent initiative of God in the work of redemption fits very well into the study of Paulinism from the standpoint of the history of religions. Plainly in the gospels also the followers of Barth can have little concern for the character or psychology or human career of their central figure. It is his sending and his message by word and act that alone matter. It is therefore in the hands of Bultmann and Karl Ludwig Schmidt that the extremely negative results of *Formgeschichte* are most fearlessly expressed.<sup>26</sup> Again they would claim that to seek factual material for a characterization of Jesus is to forget his real significance in the early church as the mere mouth-piece of the gospel of God. And they gladly emphasize all that criticism can suggest of the inability of the gospel material to supply trustworthy delineation for an historical portrait.

The fourth Gospel is treated generally apart from the three and the judgment upon it remains less favorable as regards historicity.<sup>27</sup> If its worth sometimes appears to be somewhat enhanced in recent times, that is only an apparent gain due to the lower judgment held of its associates. Most scholars cite its testimony only with reserve, even those who would maintain, as is often done, that its presentation of an earlier Judean ministry of Jesus is not ruled out by the scheme of the synoptic evidence and that its dating of the last supper a day before the Passover meal is preferable. Evidently its historical value is to be determined by internal considerations, especially by an assessment of the author's literary and psychological character, rather than by cold comparison with the other gospels or by accepting or rejecting the traditional authorship. The question whether John the son of Zebedee wrote the book is therefore less important than it used to seem, yet a great variety of positions are offered by various recent writers which connect him indirectly with the work, by oral tradition or as the author of one of its sources. On the other hand an undeserved amount of credit has been given to two traditions supposed to go back to Papias, one of which—a somewhat recent discovery—affirms that John the son of Zebedee died a martyr's death at the hands of the Jews like his brother James, presumably too early to have written the gospel, the other of which suggests as it did to Eusebius that another John lived in Ephesus—presumably John the elder, and that he might have written the gospel.

It is only by ignoring this apparently insoluble problem of the author's identity and the equally controversial question of the book's historical value that modern scholarship is succeeding in answering or even in stating the real questions which the book itself raises. These questions may be sufficiently suggested here if some prevailing answers are recorded:



There is no clear evidence that the employment in John of literary sources is the cause of diverse viewpoints in the gospel. At least two of the synoptic gospels were known to the author but he writes a new work and gives it a unified standpoint. Even the appendix (chapter 21) is in the style of the whole. First John is also by the same author.

Considerable improvement both in sequence of thought and in clarity of setting would be made by transposing certain sections of the gospel. The fact that the sections so removable are in length multiples of the same unit suggests that they were once loose leaves of a work originally left disarranged. But everyone must be aware how often a writer is himself responsible for apparent interruptions and inconcinnities.

The author sees symbolic value in the miracles and other narratives. This at once raises doubt of his historical intention in them. Yet at the same time he emphasizes the historical reality of Jesus and one may question whether he is not more often indulging in reverie and dramatic imagination than in allegory or symbol.

The religious milieu to which the work belongs thus far baffles identification. The similarity to Philo especially in his treatment of the Logos must not mislead us into assuming at once either a philosophic or an Alexandrian background. Association with Ephesus is not to be deduced from the contents; it is only due to early Christian inference about the author. Spiritual affinity has been claimed with the Mandaeans, as we have seen, or with the Hermetic literature or with the Odes of Solomon or with Gnosticism or with rabbinic Judaism. Every one of these is probably later in the form known to us than is the Gospel which cannot today be dated later than the first part of the second century. The problem is rather whether one of these bodies of literature had antecedents

contemporary with and similar to our Gospel. Much is to be said for Judaism itself as the mental home of distinctively Johannine thought, and we may include the Prologue if we suppose with Rendel Harris that its Logos is merely a substitute for Wisdom (not Memra). In any case an unknown and still largely Semitic environment in Syria would account for most of the Gospel in spite of the continuing classification of its contents by many scholars with Hellenic philosophy and religion.

In contrast with the obscure figure of Jesus and with the unidentified mind and personality behind the gospel of John, Paul of Tarsus provides the relief of a vivid, recoverable and placeable historical personage. The outline of his life in the book of Acts so far as it goes is not seriously challenged at most points, and at others is strikingly confirmed by historical research. One need not accept the early date and Lucan authorship of this work, though many scholars have moved in that direction, to admit the historical value of this biography. Better still Paul's letters give us an intimate and unquestioned insight into his own mind. Here if anywhere New Testament study has a field for clear-cut appreciation of unquestioned historical facts and a well-known actor. The opportunity for vivid history and biography here is scarcely used to the full by modern theologians. The known and knowable does not attract the speculative mind, and therefore even in the case of Paul the unanswered and perhaps unanswerable questions receive the most attention.

His major epistles, challenged perhaps for the last time by the Dutch school of critics, have been in the period under review generally accepted. Even those persons who regard Jesus as a myth accept Paul and do the best they can with Paul's references to him. Even Second Thessalonians is, I believe, no longer widely disputed; the argu-

ments formerly urged against it are now felt to cast little doubt on its genuineness. Ephesians still receives a quite divided vote. The only progress of recent times is that a scholar if he regards it as spurious can now supply that very necessary demand,—a plausible explanation of how it came to be written. Professor E. J. Goodspeed has offered the well argued suggestion that the letters of Paul were first collected when attention was drawn to his life by the publication of the book of Acts. Ephesians, he supposes, was written by the collector on the basis of Colossians and the other letters he knew as a kind of summary or covering letter for the collection.<sup>28</sup> As a pendant to this theory one may mention without describing an ingenious collection of hypotheses about Philemon offered by John Knox.<sup>29</sup> Ephesians is much less plainly spurious than the Pastoral Epistles. No very satisfactory explanation of their origin is forthcoming, for it is as difficult to explain how a forger included the Pauline sounding parts and personalia (from genuine fragments?), as it is to explain how Paul could have written the other parts. Mediating views are at most wild conjectures, and one is thankful that at least some of the data can be reduced to almost statistical certainty as is done in P. N. Harrison's *Pastoral Epistles*.

Regarding the unquestioned letters of Paul certain critical theories have made some headway. The composite character of Second Corinthians is still widely held though it is also denied by competent critics. Johannes Weiss for one maintained the composite character of First Corinthians. Increasing though not universal approval is being given to the suggestion that Philippians and perhaps the other prison letters of Paul were written not in Rome or Caesarea but during an Ephesian imprisonment not definitely recorded in the New Testament.<sup>30</sup> The date of Galatians still remains *sub judice*. It depends

in part on another unsettled problem,—the relation of the autobiographical outline in the early part of the letter to the outline of Paul's life in Acts. One cannot say that the reëxamination of these problems has led to any new certainty. Meanwhile Lütgert and Ropes have raised a new question about the interpretation of Galatians, suggesting that Paul is dealing not merely with Judaizers who urged Christians to keep the Mosaic Law but also with a lax party who stood for an unethical libertinism.<sup>31</sup>

The destination of Galatians so vigorously discussed a generation ago must also be listed among the open questions, though a considerable body of scholars adhere without convincing reason to the attractive view which finds the readers in the churches founded by Paul at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe. In like manner Ephesian destination is affirmed for Romans 16 as it is denied for the "Epistle to the Ephesians." In any case the textual history of Romans continues to suggest that the letter did not always circulate with its present arrangement at the end or even with a reference to Rome in the first chapter.

These and many minor questions of introduction are only peripheral in the field of Pauline studies. Central and more significant is the interpretation of the man himself and in particular the origin and character of his Christianity. That modern scholars can hold such variant views in the case of a man so well recorded is a testimony not so much to their perverse ingenuity and quarrelsomeness as to the actual manysidedness of Paul himself. A further difficulty is that the modern mind only with difficulty grasps the more concrete way of looking at life characteristic of Paul. German scholarship in particular has slowly succeeded in indicating the reality and objectiveness which Paul gives his sense of personal and cosmic religion. His theology is not to be separated from his

experience as an afterthought or interpretation or as the result of argument with opponents. This general movement scarcely means that agreement has been reached. The eschatological and mystical elements in Paul have still to compete for recognition over against the older construction of his doctrine of faith and redemption. Particularly important is the question of the thought world out of which Paul's thinking derives, and the concepts of man's nature, of the world, and of salvation which underlie his thinking.

The Jewish element in Paul is unmistakable, though there is a tendency in modern times to deny the statement in Acts 22:3 that he studied with Gamaliel. To Jewish scholars his divergence from Judaism is more striking than his likeness to it, and this difference they ascribe more to the Hellenizing of the Diaspora than to anything uniquely personal or Christian in Paul.

The problem of Jesus and Paul continues to elicit much thought, not so much as before as to their personal relation to each other or their relative importance in the founding of Christianity, but rather in the form of enquiring whether they represent similar ways of thinking. Even their eschatology is claimed to be quite different, while Paul is often said to owe a great deal to the development of a Christ cult in the Hellenistic church.

There is difficulty, too, in spite of manifold effort, in identifying and explaining the Hellenic element in Paul. The influence of Stoic philosophy or of the mystery cults is easily overstated. At the same time there remains the feeling that each of them explains something of the Pauline way of thinking. Less tangible is the incipient gnosticism which modern scholars suppose to have been affecting religious thought long before it touched Christianity itself. Indeed much of the spirit of these non-Jewish currents of thought may already have affected Hel-

lenistic Judaism. To find clearer examples of the Pauline postulates or expressions in this body of sources is the immediate aim of many scholars, while their ultimate purpose is to portray Paul's whole thought in proper relation to the varied background with which he may be supposed to have connection. Less and less is he regarded as a rationalist, a humanist and a moralist. More and more is recognized the supernatural character of the Spirit for him, the apocalyptic and cosmic character of salvation. Barth is right in making Paul's religion God-initiated rather than a mere psychological experience, and Paul is not to be regarded as speaking symbolically, allegorically and metaphorically but with the sense that he is describing objective, sacramental, effective, cosmic realities.

Paul is the natural starting point for the study of early Christianity. At first sight he seems the most knowable landmark by which other phenomena may be tested and arranged. The difficulties of fixing the presuppositions of his thought in true relation to his general milieu and to the influences he had experienced have been sufficiently indicated above to show how little Paulinism is to be regarded as an acknowledged datum. Also the most urgent problems about John's gospel already mentioned will easily be seen to resemble those in Pauline research. Independently we try to find the clues to Pauline and to Johannine religious thought. Less than previously was the case is their mutual likeness attributed to influence within the Christian succession, as though Paul had paved the way for John. Even within the New Testament Paul's influence was probably overrated. One hears less nowadays of the Pauline character of Mark or Luke. Hebrews is recognized as an independent and original work of a master-mind, and even the Epistle of James may owe its antithesis of faith and works not to Paul or to a carica-

ture of Paul but to a discussion of just that issue in non-Christian Judaism. Among the striking theories of literary origin may be mentioned Meyer's theory that behind the (in any case very Jewish) epistle of James there still appear remains of a kind of "testament of the patriarchs" which explains the name Jacob and the disconnected nature of the paragraphs. The paraenetic sections of James have been subjected to careful comparison with extra-canonical parallels both in form and in content. A similar comparison has thrown some light also on the enumeration of duties of groups in the household (*Haus-tafeln*) in Colossians, Ephesians and First Peter.<sup>32</sup>

While pre-Pauline and non-Pauline Christianity has not been neglected the study of the problems does not seem to allow of any summary analysis.<sup>33</sup> The fate of Jewish Christianity continues to be unknown, obscured rather than clarified by what the early Fathers said about it and its writings. Perhaps the contents of the synoptic Gospels are its real monument. In addition to Eisler's fantastic work, already alluded to, efforts have been made to explain this primitive movement through the rôle of James the Lord's brother. Naturally with Paul's letters as our only early source for the nature of early Christian organization and worship a clue is sought elsewhere for the rise of the sacraments, fixed service and officialdom of Catholic Christianity. I am not aware that much progress has been made in this aspect of our discipline. Like so much else of historical development the standardization of ecclesiastical government is not disclosed in the New Testament. Its history belongs rather to the later period and to the separate discipline of Church History.

Though the field of study here surveyed is a limited one, and though it has been long the center of intense research in which the facilities of scholarship from every other relevant field have been constantly brought to bear,

one cannot review the work of recent decades without realizing how little real progress has been made. No great archaeological discovery has suddenly settled any of the long disputed problems, no ancient document of early Christianity has lately come to light to set in perspective the old classical gospels and epistles. Probably no such revolutionary disclosures should be expected; they can hardly be deliberately achieved, and they need not be waited for. Progress depends—apart from such happy chances—on the patient effort of imaginative minds, often in unseen and unconscious collaboration, freshly revolving and resolving the intricate data for the New Testament by trial and error, by ever new reference to material in the contemporary cultures, until a fragment of new probability emerges from the search. Too much that is done is inspired by apologetic motives, or is not inspired at all,—mere repetition at second hand of the obvious facts and the often obsolete conjectures of a previous day. If the review given above of the present state of New Testament studies has given more attention to questions than to answers, it has been because I recognize that the setting of the problems in this as in many other sciences goes a long way to the achieving of new answers. Under such conditions new and true answers are not to be despaired of, though one cannot predict them or even indicate the questions most likely to be answered. In contrast to the remark quoted at the beginning of the paper may be quoted the words of another British scholar, James Rendel Harris, now in his eighty-fourth year, who lately remarked: "A new chapter in New Testament studies is just beginning."



## NOTE ON LITERATURE

The subjects of this essay are discussed in a suggestive way in the following lectures, each published as a separate pamphlet: C. H. Turner, *The Study of the New Testament*, 1883 and 1920, Oxford, 1920; E. von Dobschutz, *Vom Auslegen des N. T.*, Göttingen, 1927, C. H. Dodd, *The Present Task in N. T. Studies*, Cambridge, 1936.

Surveys of recent publication in various New Testament fields are published occasionally in *Theologische Rundschau* (Tübingen), a new series of which began in 1929. More complete annual registers of articles as well as of books are given without comment in several foreign periodicals, of which those in *Biblica* (Rome) are probably the most inclusive. No more recent works have continued the admirable summaries by A. Schweitzer in his *Quest of the Historical Jesus* (up to 1905) and *Paul and his Interpreters* (up to 1911). One can mention a little book by A. T. Case, *As Modern Writers See Jesus* (Boston, 1927) and an article by G. A. Barton in the *Anglican Theological Review* (xiii, 1931, pp. 56-71) on "The Person of Christ in Modern Literature concerning his Life."

The student may be referred to the literature cited in most new works or editions of New Testament Introduction for publications that fall under that head. See especially A. H. McNeile (London, 1927); P. Feine (8th edition, revised by J. Behm, Leipzig, 1936); A. Jülicher (7th edition, revised by E. Fascher, Tübingen, 1931); K. Lake and S. Lake (New York, 1937); E. J. Goodspeed (Chicago, 1937). Some other works of reference, as Bible dictionaries or New Testament lexica, may give the student some assistance without his consulting the actual books, or looking through the periodical reviews. In several cases the books noted in footnotes above give the best review both of the thought and of the literature.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The most up-to-date brief treatment is K. Lake, *The Text of the N. T.*, sixth edition revised, London, 1928. F. G. Kenyon, *The Text of the Greek Bible*, London, 1937, is able to include the latest found papyri. An independent and voluminous study by a learned Catholic scholar is Pere M.-J. Lagrange's *Critique textuelle*, Vol. II, Paris, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> For Acts, where the Western text is most conspicuous, A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1933, argues strongly for its superiority over the Neutral Text. J. H. Ropes, whose well arranged edition of *The Text of Acts* appeared in 1926, took the opposite view.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1935; H. I. Bell, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*, London, 1935; C. H. Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron*, London, 1935; C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, Gluckstadt, 1936.

<sup>4</sup> *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 44, 1931, pp. 8 f.

<sup>5</sup> By Professor E. L. Sukenik, some of whose work still waits publication.

<sup>6</sup> On "Sapphira" on ossuaries see *Amicitiae Corolla*, edited by H. G. Wood, London, 1933, pp. 54 f.

<sup>7</sup> The first inscription, found by Clermont-Ganneau in 1871 and frequently reproduced in photograph, evidently led to various forgeries. See *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xiii (1933), 137 ff., xvi (1936), 37 f. For the recently discovered genuine copy see J. H. Iliffe, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, vi, 1936, 1 ff.

<sup>8</sup> F. Cumont, *Revue historique*, clxiii, 1930, 241-266.

<sup>9</sup> F. K. Dörner, *Der Erläss des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabrus Persicus*, Greifswald, 1935.

<sup>10</sup> Homer A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* vi (1937), 1 ff.

<sup>11</sup> I may refer to my articles, "Erastus of Corinth," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, l (1931), pp. 42-58, "The Macellum of Corinth," *ibid.* lvi (1934), pp. 134-141.

<sup>12</sup> H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N. T. aus Talmud und Midrash*, 4 vols. in 5, München, 1921-1928. G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, 3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1927-30.

<sup>13</sup> R. Eisler, *Ἰησοῦς βασιλεὺς οὐ βασιλευσας*, Heidelberg, 2 vols., 1928-9. Eng. trans. (abbreviated) *The Messiah Jesus*, London, 1931.

<sup>14</sup> E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light*, New Haven, Conn., 1935.

<sup>15</sup> R. Otto, *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn*, München, 1934; cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, London, 1935.

<sup>16</sup> A. D. Nock, *Conversion: the old and the new in religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*, Oxford, 1933.

<sup>17</sup> The tools for applying the papyri to the New Testament Greek have been increased by the publication of J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, 1914-1929, of Fr Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, and of further instalments of Mayser's *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemaerzeit*, 1906-1934. W. Bauer's revision of Preuschen's *Wörterbuch des N. T.*, Göttingen, 1928, marked an advance in New Testament lexicography and was again revised in 1936. On a very much larger scale is the new work edited by G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N. T.*, Stuttgart, 1932-.

<sup>18</sup> See especially the Grammar in the Introduction to R. H. Charles, *Commentary (I C. C., New York, 1920)*

<sup>19</sup> C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford, 1922.

<sup>20</sup> C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, Cambridge, Mass., 1916, *The Four Gospels*, New York, 1933, *Our Translated Gospels*, New York, 1936, and articles mentioned in the last named books.

<sup>21</sup> B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, London, 1924. On Proto-Luke, see further Vincent Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel*, Oxford, 1926.

<sup>22</sup> I mention only English interpretations or translations. F. C. Grant, *Form Criticism*, Chicago, 1934; M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, New York, 1935, and *Gospel Criticism and Christology*, London, 1935; B. S. Easton, *The Gospel before the Gospels*, New York, 1928; R. H. Lightfoot, *History and Interpretation in the Gospels*, London, 1935; V. Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition*, London, 1933. Literature in all languages up to date of publication in Dibelius' article in German in *Theologische Rundschau*, 1929, 185-216.

<sup>23</sup> I refer to P. L. Couchoud and to Maurice Goguel. See the latter's *Jesus the Nazarene,—Myth or History?* Eng. Trans., London, 1926, and his article in the *Harvard Theological Review*, xix, 1926, pp. 115-142.

<sup>24</sup> J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, Eng. Trans., New York, 1925, M. Goguel, *The Life of Jesus*, Eng. Trans., New York, 1933; C. Guignebert, *Jesus*, Eng. Trans., New York, 1935, R. Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word*, Eng. Trans., New York, 1934.

<sup>25</sup> The significance of Barthianism for New Testament criticism is discussed in an essay which I do not profess to understand, "Die Bedeutung der 'dialektische Theologie' für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," in R. Bultmann, *Glauben und Verstehen*, 1933, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Bultmann's brief sketch has been mentioned above. Unfortunately his *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 2nd Edit., Göttingen, 1931, and K. L. Schmidt's article "Jesus Christus" in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Second Edit., iii, pp. 110-151, have not been translated.

<sup>27</sup> English, American and Continental studies in the first three decades of this century are reviewed in W. F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, London, 1931.

<sup>28</sup> E. J. Goodspeed, *New Solutions of New Testament Problems*,

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<sup>115</sup> The only volumes to appear in recent years are *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (1931) by Falkenstein and *Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen*, I and II (1933), by Matouš and von Soden respectively.

<sup>116</sup> Vols XI and XXI inclusive have all appeared between 1926 and 1937. For the translation of *Louvre XII* and *XIII* see Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents* (1935).

<sup>117</sup> Some recent publications not already noted are Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts* (1929); *Sumerian Epics and Myths* (1934), *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents* (1934), Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab* (1930).

<sup>118</sup> One from Ur not already noted is Gadd and Legrain, *Ur: Royal Inscriptions* (1928).

<sup>119</sup> A volume in this series not already noted is Pohl, *Vorsargonische und Sargonische Wirtschaftstexte* (1935).

<sup>120</sup> Articles on individual points have appeared from time to time; see, e. g., Schott, *MVAeG*, XXX, 2; Landsberger, *ZA*, XXXV, 113 ff.; Speiser, *JAOS*, LVI, 22 ff.; Oppenheim, *WZKM*, XLII, 1 ff.; Meek, *RA*, XXXII, 51 ff., XXXIV, 60 ff.; Goetze, *JAOS*, LVI, 297 ff.; *Orientalia: Nova Series*, VI, 12 ff.; Deimel, *ibid.*, III, 196 ff.; Ungnad, *ibid.*, VI, 252 ff.

<sup>121</sup> *ZA*, XL, 163 ff.; XLI, 90 ff.

<sup>122</sup> *Die Ostkanaanäer* (1926).

<sup>123</sup> *L'Akkadien de Boghaz-köi* (1932).

<sup>124</sup> *The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets* (*AASOR*, XI, 63 ff.).

<sup>125</sup> *The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian* (*Language Dissertations*, No. 23, 1937).

<sup>126</sup> *AfO*, XI, 56 ff.

<sup>127</sup> *AASOR*, XVI, 136 ff.

<sup>128</sup> Note also the supplement, *Das sumerische Verbum* (1935).

<sup>129</sup> Among recent articles see, e. g., Poebel, *AJSL*, L, 143 ff.; LI, 145 ff.; *JAOS*, LVII, 35 ff.; *Oriental Institute: Assyriological Studies*, No. 2; Kramer, *ibid.*, No. 8; *Archiv Orientalní*, VIII, 18 ff.

<sup>130</sup> *Le syllabaire accadien* (1926) and *Les homophones sumériens* (1929). For supplementary values by various scholars see the references cited in *AJSL*, LIII, 34, n. 1, to which is now to be added *AJSL*, LIII, 180 ff.

## THE PRESENT STATE OF STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF WRITING IN THE NEAR EAST

JOHN W. FLIGHT  
Haverford College

The study of the history of writing has value not merely as an academic pursuit, but as a clue to one of the most impressive chapters in the story of human intellectual progress. Next to the beginnings of speech as the most important means of communication among men, the origin and development of writing holds a place of supreme importance in the growth of civilization.

When limited to the Near East the subject has also a direct bearing upon Biblical study, since it not only raises questions concerning the time, place and nature of the earliest "writing" in the Bible, but it involves the study of inscriptions left by Semitic peoples related to the Hebrews in language, institutions and religious practices. These peoples, constituting the major population of the Near East during most of the second millennium B. C., were in that important period the most active agents in the creation and development of those particular forms of writing from which our modern systems evolved.

By "writing" is meant the recording or communication of ideas by means of symbols or characters, whether realistic or conventional, traced upon materials capable of preserving the impressions made upon them. Writing may be said to have begun as soon as ancient man first essayed to scratch, draw or paint on his cave-walls, or on stone, crude pictures of objects, animals, plants and trees, such as are found in various parts of Europe and Asia. Precise dating of such writing is impossible and we can never be certain that we have found the very earliest examples.

We cannot know all of the links in the chain of development from these rude beginnings, through the making of more or less standardized pictograms and finally to the formation of syllabic and ideographic symbols; but the process of such development is obvious, and an immeasurable period of time, perhaps millennia, must be allowed for it. In many instances it is still possible to recognize the original pictures or pictograms which lay behind the conventional symbols contained in such highly developed systems as the Egyptian hieroglyphic and the Sumerian cuneiform.

The natural starting-point for the study of the history of letters lies, then, in a consideration of these two systems which represent the oldest writing of consecutive records in the Near East known to us. Their origins go back beyond the fourth millennium B. C., and it is still a mooted question which of them is to be given chronological precedence.<sup>1</sup> Neither of these systems persisted without change, but each developed somewhat in the course of time and each embodied a fairly complex grammatical structure.

In the case of the Egyptian, called "hieroglyphic" or "sacred writing" by the Greeks because it was used chiefly by the Egyptian priests, there developed in time two other systems of writing, the hieratic and the demotic. The first of these, an abridged cursive form, owed its origin partly to the fact that the priests endeavored to monopolize writing for their own exclusive religious usage. Naturally, as business and trade grew in volume, the demand arose for a type of writing both divorced from the sacred and better suited to use in the making of records, contracts and mercantile communications, with the result that the hieratic system came into use.<sup>2</sup> Somewhere about the seventh century B. C. the hieratic gave place to a more popular, simplified form of writing

known as demotic. By about the third century B. C., with the spread of Greek writing, Egyptian came to be written with Greek characters, giving rise to the Coptic script, though certain traces of demotic may be seen in the Coptic system in cases where additional characters, lacking in the Greek alphabet, were needed.<sup>3</sup>

Early in the period of the Old Kingdom (c. 3000 B. C.) the Egyptian hieroglyphic had come to include twenty-four signs which stood for separate letters or uni-consonantal words, thus constituting a sort of alphabetic system within the larger body of syllabic signs. The Egyptians, however, did not recognize the great value of this invention if used independently, and they consequently clung to the cumbersome hieroglyphic system. Yet, as we shall see, this incipient alphabet of the Egyptians<sup>4</sup> was destined in time to furnish the idea for the creation of a true alphabetic system which has had a continuous history of development down to our own day.

Sumerian cuneiform writing also underwent considerable change as it passed into the hands of the Accadians, Babylonians, Assyrians and early Persians. There have been instances of the adaptation of cuneiform for use in Hittite and Mitannian. The signs used in these secondary systems became so highly conventionalized that it is often quite impossible to identify them either with the basic Sumerian characters or with the original pictures out of which they grew.<sup>5</sup>

An early alphabetic cuneiform (16-14th centuries B. C.) has been found, to which reference will be made below, but it does not appear to bear any direct relation to the cuneiform systems of which we have been speaking.

In spite of Egyptian military dominance over much of the region east of the Mediterranean during the second millennium B. C., the Accadian cuneiform, rather than the Egyptian writing, was used by officers of the Egyptian

court in correspondence with certain petty Palestinian rulers who were subject to Egypt, as well as with rulers of other Near Eastern countries. Indeed, despite the development of other (especially of simpler alphabetic) forms of writing during this period, the cuneiform became the *lingua franca* of virtually the whole Near East.

The Egyptians' use of cuneiform is illustrated by the discovery in 1888 of the Tell el-Amarna letters,<sup>6</sup> containing correspondence between Pharaohs Amenophis III and IV and the governors of Palestinian subject-provinces. Subsequent finds of additional tablets of the Amarna type have been made at several sites in Palestine and Syria, though the cuneiform on tablets of the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. is quite distinct in script and orthography from that of the Amarna period since there was an interruption of some five centuries in the use of cuneiform in Palestine until the eighth century B. C.<sup>7</sup> New materials written in both the Egyptian hieroglyphic and the Mesopotamian cuneiform are yearly being added, literally by the thousands, to the great store already known, as a result of continuing excavations of ancient sites.

Other early systems of writing employed at various times and by diverse peoples of the Near East are represented by the Cretan hieroglyphic and linear scripts, the Hittite and Byblian hieroglyphic scripts.<sup>8</sup> These, however, seem to antedate the Egyptian or the Sumerian systems, and their exact relation to these older systems is as yet a matter of conjecture.

### *Alphabet Writing*

At a time near the beginning of the second millennium B. C., perhaps even earlier, the use of an alphabet for writing was introduced, and from this time on, as we learn from the increasing number of recent discoveries of



alphabetic inscriptions, the history of writing in the Near East becomes increasingly identical with the history of the alphabet. Although non-alphabetic writing persisted quite far beyond the date of introduction of the alphabet, there began a gradual replacement of the former by the latter, a process which was well under way by the end of the second millennium.

Accordingly, we may now take up consideration of the evidences and problems relating to the study of origin and development of alphabetic writing. A little more than twenty years ago there began a new era of research into this subject, thanks to the appearance of a remarkable succession of epigraphic discoveries whose volume continues to increase each year.<sup>9</sup> Previous to 1916 the earliest inscription recognized as alphabetic was the famous Moabite Stone of King Mesha, discovered in 1868 and dating from about the middle of the ninth century B. C.<sup>10</sup> To be sure, the existence of a fairly well-developed alphabetic script on this stone presumes a period of some years, if not centuries, at least, for the script to have assumed the form shown thereon. But the Moabite Stone constituted the starting-point for the study of alphabetic writing so far as Near Eastern epigraphic remains were concerned.

In 1904-05 occurred an epochal discovery which was not recognized as such until about a decade later. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie unearthed some fragments of inscriptions in the region of the turquoise mines which had been worked in ancient times by the Egyptians at Serabit el-Khadem on the Sinai peninsula, about fifty miles from the traditional site of Mt. Sinai.<sup>11</sup> Subsequent additions to the original find were made by the Harvard expeditions of 1927, 1930 and 1935<sup>12</sup> and a Finnish expedition in 1929, so that there is now available a considerable quantity of materials for study of the problems raised by

these inscriptions. Attempts were made to identify the script, but without success, since the "unknown characters" in which the inscriptions were written, while resembling Egyptian hieroglyphic, were unintelligible when treated as Egyptian writing. It remained for A. H. Gardiner in 1916, ten years after the original discovery, working on the theory that the texts represented an alphabetic script, to decipher the name of the goddess Ba'alat (identified with the Egyptian Hathor) as the first definitely legible word.<sup>12</sup> An extensive literature of comment and interpretation has since been called forth, most of which confirms and supplements Gardiner's original decipherment.<sup>14</sup>

The present net result of all these labors is a fairly unanimous agreement among scholars that in the Proto-sinaitic inscriptions<sup>15</sup> we have the earliest known attempts at purely alphabetic writing, dating from the end of the 19th or beginning of the 18th century B. C., in the 12th Egyptian dynasty.<sup>16</sup>

The script is now fully believed to be based ultimately upon Egyptian hieroglyphic,<sup>17</sup> from which some at least of the characters of the "incipient Egyptian alphabet," referred to above, were used as true alphabetic symbols, the letters being given Semitic names and values; that is to say, the acrophonic principle was employed, by which each sign was given a phonetic value corresponding to the sound of the initial letter of its (Semitic) name.<sup>18</sup> As illustrating the method, Cowley points out<sup>19</sup> that "the sign (𐤀) for *beth* was no doubt copied from Egyptian 𓆎 = h, but the value was Semitic *bêth* (b)."

The language of the inscriptions is taken therefore to be Semitic, representing an early form of that found later in Phoenician inscriptions. The evidence seems to show that the originators of the Serabit alphabet did not merely appropriate the Egyptian "alphabetic" signs; they uti-

lized only the alphabetic idea inherent in the Egyptian uni-consonantal signs, thus composing for their own (Semitic) language a system of simple signs with which words could be spelled.<sup>20</sup>

An altogether new theory was proposed in 1933 by J. Leibovitch,<sup>21</sup> suggesting a Meroitic (Cushite) authorship for the Serabit texts. After giving his reasons for rejecting the views of several scholars who assigned the texts to various Semitic tribes, Leibovitch discusses the possibilities of his new position. He continues to hold to the alphabetic character of the inscriptions, but argues that their phonetic values are not dependent upon the acrophonic principle. He believes that the adaptation of the signs to a Semitic language came later, when the acrophonic use was brought in as well as a change in phonetic values.

Dr. Leibovitch's monograph has evoked direct replies from Prof. W. F. Albright and Prof. R. F. Butin. Prof. Albright says: "While the thesis is defended with no little learning, it breaks down because of the fact that the oldest Meroitic inscriptions in the epichoric alphabet do not antedate cir. 200 B. C., and that not a single inscription has yet been found in Nubia from the preceding two thousand years except in Egyptian hieroglyphics, though numerous excavations have been undertaken there. Against these circumstances a few superficial similarities are of no weight."<sup>22</sup>

Prof. Butin remarks: "Whether its application (i. e. Leibovitch's theory) will yield better results than others remains to be seen. It seems to me that the great difficulty experienced in translating the inscriptions from a Semitic point of view is not sufficient to compel us to conclude that they are not Semitic. The texts are very short and at times defective and there is hardly a Phoenician (or Semitic) inscription which does not contain

obscure elements which remain as yet unexplained. . . . The date assigned by Leibovitch to the Protosinaitic inscriptions seems to be too late. (Dr. Leibovitch sees in them a case parallel to the later Meroitic inscriptions. . . . The Maziou, equated by him with the Midianites (!), originally living southeast of Egypt were employed at Serabit under the XVIIIth dynasty and later.) The Gezer fragment could not be later than the end of the 2nd Bronze Age (seventeenth century). Since Leibovitch agrees that the Phoenician alphabet is derived from the Protosinaitic, sufficient time must be allowed for the passage from the one alphabet to the other. It seems to me very difficult to account for the change of phonetic values and the development of a new system in such a short period."<sup>23</sup>

The theory of Semitic authorship of the Protosinaitic inscriptions and therefore the possible origination of the alphabet by Semites appears thus to hold the balance of favor.

The question has naturally arisen in the minds of students of the Bible: what connection has this theory with the Biblical references to the earliest "writing" attributed to Moses at Sinai?<sup>24</sup> Conservative interpreters have readily replied that the epigraphic discoveries at Sinai offer striking proof that Moses must have written the record assigned to him there. Some have ventured to assert that he may well have known and used the Protosinaitic alphabet!<sup>25</sup>

Support was given to such conclusions by certain extreme and fanciful interpretations which were put upon the inscriptions at an early point in the investigations, especially those of H. Grimme.<sup>26</sup> This scholar claimed to find in the texts the names Yahu, Moses, Sinai, but it has been amply shown by the careful work of other scholars, notably K. Sethe, that such readings have no factual basis whatever.<sup>27</sup>

Although the circumstance of finding these evidences of the earliest Semitic alphabetic writing at Sinai is highly dramatic and lends itself to many interesting speculations, it must be said that no part of the available evidence throws any direct light upon the use of letters by Moses and the Israelites of his day. Certainly no hasty or categorical conclusions in this direction are justified at the present stage of the inquiry.

Before leaving the subject of the Protosinaitic inscriptions brief notice should be taken of a variant view of the origin of the Semitic alphabet by two French scholars, Dussaud and Dunand. The former, in the course of a review of Benzinger's third edition of *Hebräische Archäologie*,<sup>28</sup> says: "It is not at Sinai that the origin of the Phoenician alphabet is to be sought: the inscription of Ahiiram, contemporaneous with Ramses II, clearly supports this hypothesis. . . . M. Montet's discovery should lead us to the tangible reality. . . . It is quite evident that Byblos offers all the required conditions to bring about the elaboration of the alphabet, for here there existed a strongly organized college of priests."

Dunand, basing his view upon epigraphic materials far antedating the Ahiiram epitaph, claims an early Byblian (hieroglyphic) script as the possible progenitor of the Phoenician alphabet. This script, discovered in 1930 on a stone stele at Byblos<sup>29</sup> and slightly later on copper plates, presented a hitherto unknown type of writing, recognized as syllabic because of the eighty or more characters employed, and presumably bearing some resemblance to Egyptian hieroglyphs. The language appears to be an early form of Canaanite (Phoenician), and both Dunand and Albright date the texts near the end of the third millennium B. C.<sup>30</sup> Following this discovery came Dunand's publication of an alphabetic inscription from Byblos which has been dated about 1400 B. C.<sup>31</sup> Com-

paring the characters of the Byblian hieroglyphic texts with those of the above-mentioned Byblian alphabetic text and with later Phoenician texts, notably the Ahiram sarcophagus text, Dunand believes that there is apparent here a direct line of descent for the Phoenician alphabet.

There is some plausibility in Dunand's conjecture, since the development of the Semitic alphabet during the second millennium B. C. seems to have been in a Phoenician dialect.<sup>32</sup> Besides, the Syrian littoral with its highly developed culture in the second millennium, and a well-organized and active priestly literary school might conceivably have been the centre from which strong influences along this line emanated. But two considerations urge caution in accepting Dunand's view. First, the South Semitic as well as the North Semitic alphabet shows development from Protosinaitic sources originally, and the South Semitic gives evidence of having been derived independently from the Protosinaitic and not from the Phoenician.<sup>33</sup> Second, it is possible to demonstrate, by listing in chronological series the important alphabetic inscriptions found in the Near East, that from the Protosinaitic onwards there appears a progressive development of alphabetic writing, illustrated by materials now available from almost every century of the second millennium.<sup>34</sup> The most recent refutation of Dunand's theory has been given by Albright,<sup>35</sup> in which the conclusion is expressed: "a survey of the present epigraphical situation in Palestine, where we now have a bridge thrown across the gap between the proto-Sinaitic inscriptions and those of the Early Iron Age, shows that the true source of the Phoenician alphabet is to be found in the alphabetic script first discovered in Sinai."

One other recent attempt to trace the chronology of Palestinian epigraphy may be reported, that of T. H. Gaster.<sup>36</sup> Enumerating the difficulties in the way of con-

structing an accurate chronological series of inscriptions on the data at present available, Gaster proposes an epigraphic sequence, and in many cases he accepts the risk of neglecting valuable stratigraphical evidence for the dating of materials. His theory of descent for the Phoenician alphabet "in part from the earlier 'Sinaitic' script" and after the 13th century in turn influencing "the then prevalent 'Sinaitic' script" involves assumed relationships among the scripts which are hardly justified by existent evidence, and leads rather to confusion than to clarity. In the second part of his article is given a plate<sup>37</sup> showing his proposed arrangement of the chronology of early Palestinian scripts, tracing them all back to Aegean Linear writing and thus reviving Petrie's early theory of alphabetic origins.<sup>38</sup> There are many suggestive points in Gaster's discussion, but they are mixed with so many premature conclusions as to be misleading. His references to the growing literature on Palestinian epigraphy are numerous and constitute a valuable bibliography on the subject down to 1935. The comparative tables which he presents are of interest though not always convincing. There has been no general acceptance of Gaster's stylistic classification.<sup>39</sup>

A new, important and illuminating chapter in the history of writing was opened with the discovery in 1929 at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit, on the Syrian coast opposite the easternmost cape of Cyprus) of a wealth of clay tablets written in a hitherto unknown cuneiform alphabet of thirty characters.<sup>40</sup> Identification of the characters was soon achieved, owing to the masterly work of H. Bauer and P. Dhorme,<sup>41</sup> and it was not long before attempts were made by various scholars to trace this new alphabet to its genesis. Several of the earlier systems of writing were cited as possible models for its creation, but none of the theories of genetic relationships has proved en-

tirely satisfactory.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the most that can be said is that the Ras Shamra alphabet was constructed on the *analogy* of the Phoenician by writers who were accustomed to the use of clay and stylus which were not adaptable to the writing of the linear characters of the Phoenician. Z. S. Harris<sup>43</sup> makes the significant observation that "one of the best indications of the dependence of Ras Shamra upon the Phoenician is the non-indication of vowels in that script." This absence of vowels, he points out, while historically quite natural in the Phoenician, really has no *raison d'être* in the Ras Shamra, except as the latter was inspired by the former and "followed it even in this, unnecessary, respect." Noteworthy also is the remark of Prof. J. A. Montgomery<sup>44</sup> that "this cuneiform alphabet appears to have arisen upon suggestion from and in competition with the Phoenician alphabet which was already in existence; similarly the Persian cuneiform alphabet was an adaptation of the idea of the far-flung Aramaic alphabet to cuneiform. Both attempts failed before the simpler alphabets."<sup>45</sup>

As additional texts from Ras Shamra come to light and their interpretation proceeds, they are proving of inestimable value in many fields of research, including pre-Greek mythology, Near East and Egyptian archaeology and history, Semitic philology, Old Testament science and history of religion. A constant succession of important studies by various experts in all of these fields has appeared and continues to grow.<sup>46</sup>

Most pertinent to the present treatment are the Semitic tablets, especially the epic and mythological texts, which are yielding a rich store of valuable data on the pre-biblical history, religion and language of Canaan. Many close parallels and analogies, both in language and thought, are found to exist between these texts and the later books of the Old Testament, notably Isaiah (late



portions), Ezekiel, Daniel, Job, certain Psalms and passages in Proverbs. This *rapprochement* with the late biblical writings gives support to the view that, although the earliest traditions of the Hebrews (*i. e.*, Pentateuchal traditions) were brought in part at least from Mesopotamia, a growing Canaanite influence came into Israelite literature after the entrance of the tribes into Canaan; and this influence finds fullest expression in such books as are mentioned above.<sup>47</sup>

We pass now to a tabulation and brief discussion of the epigraphic evidence bearing upon the history of writing in the Near East as furnished by the alphabetic inscriptions most of which have come to light within the past two decades. Below is given a chronological list of the most important inscriptions, with dates assigned as nearly as present study can determine them. The dates are set down with no claim to finality; some of them are subject to revision, and while not all students of the subject will agree on all of our assigned dates, it is felt that they represent a fair consensus of scholarly judgment. It will be noticed that our list carries us down to the sixth century B. C. and is confined to the alphabetic development among Semites in Palestine and Syria where activity in this field was greatest if not fairly exclusive. It lies beyond the scope of this chapter to deal with the scripts of Arabia, North Africa, Asia Minor, Greece and the islands of the Mediterranean. For these phases of the subject, where not discussed elsewhere in this volume, as well as for the development of modern alphabets from the Phoenician and so ultimately from the Sinaitic, the reader may be referred to H. Jensen's *Geschichte der Schrift* as perhaps the best general treatment.

Century B. C.

1. Protosinaitic inscriptions of Serabit..... 19-18
2. Gezer fragment<sup>48</sup>..... 17-16

[3. Ras Shamra alphabetic cuneiform.....	16-14]
4. Beth Shemesh ostrakon.....	15-14
5. Byblos alphabetic texts .....	15-14
6. Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) ewer and bowl inscriptions .....	14-13
[7. Balu'ah stele (undeciphered; alpha- betic?) .....	(?) 14-12]
8. Tell el-Hesi inscription.....	13-12
9. Yehimilk inscription (Byblos).....	(?) 12
10. Ahiram sarcophagus (Byblos).....	12-11
11. Roueisseh spearhead inscription.....	11
12. Gezer calendar tablet.....	10
13. Abibaal inscription (Byblos).....	10
14. Elibaal inscription (Byblos).....	10
15. Samaria ostraca.....	9-8
16. Moabite stone.....	9
17. Kilmuwa inscription (N. Syria).....	9
18. Siloam inscription.....	8
19. Jerusalem (Ophel) ostrakon.....	7
20. Lachish letters (Tell ed-Duweir).....	6

The point of greatest significance for the theory of epigraphic development represented by the above table is the fact that the Gezer fragment, found in 1929 and dating from the Middle Bronze Age, shows a very close similarity, in the forms of its letters, to the Protosinaitic inscriptions.<sup>49</sup> It is therefore the earliest example yet found which furnishes a connecting link between the Semitic alphabet and its progenitor, the Protosinaitic. Moreover, it is possible to discern the developmental relation between the letters of the Late Bronze inscriptions and those of the Gezer fragment, the former showing an advance toward the later linear characters of the Phoenician alphabet. The evidence on this point is convincing<sup>50</sup> and leads to the conclusion that a more or less regular

series of developments in alphabetic writing is to be seen running from the Protosinaitic on through the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, and finally, as our table shows as well as epigraphic and stratigraphic evidences which grow increasingly clear and palpable as the process goes forward, on into the Iron Age. Ultimately, of course, this development continued to our own alphabet as the latest descendant from the Sinaitic source. The separate items, especially those from the second millennium B. C., as they have accumulated, may be likened to the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, which as they are studied find their places in the picture. Many pieces, of course, are still missing and the picture is far from being complete, but even the early examples reveal sufficient standardization of letter-forms to enable epigraphers to reach a fair degree of unanimity in the decipherment of the inscriptions.

Naturally, the difficulties involved in fixing the exact dates of inscriptions have led to wide differences among scholars. For example, the question of priority between the Beth Shemesh ostrakon and the Lachish inscriptions is a case in point.<sup>51</sup> Likewise it is somewhat problematical whether the Byblos alphabetic inscription preceded or followed the Tell el-Hesi one, although Albright's evidences and conclusions would seem quite convincing.<sup>52</sup>

Notice should be taken at this point of the enigmatic Balu'ah stele, discovered in Moab in 1931.<sup>53</sup> This inscription remains undeciphered and has up to the present defied classification either as to exact date or epigraphic relationships. The characters in its four lines, inscribed above a relief portraying three figures, are faint, well-nigh illegible, and so poorly preserved that it is not known whether they represent an alphabetic or a syllabic script. It was at first supposed that some of the characters resembled the Thamudic and Safaitic scripts of North Arabia.<sup>54</sup> Drioton, on the basis of the Egyptianizing style of the symbols and clothing depicted in the relief beneath

the text, placed the stele "not earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century B. C." <sup>55</sup> Albright has recently proposed a revolutionary idea, that of separating the text from the relief and dating the former in the late third millennium B. C., classifying it as possibly a variant of the Byblian syllabic script. <sup>56</sup> T. H. Gaster has hazarded a provisional analysis of the text and comparison with other Semitic scripts. <sup>57</sup> He regards the script as descended from "Palestinian Linear" and as a "pen-alphabetic" type of writing. But until a more satisfactory reading and classification of this text is reached it cannot be fitted into our present picture of the history of writing.

Few serious differences of opinion exist among scholars with reference to dating the remaining inscriptions listed in our table, and bibliographic mention will be made of them at the end of the chapter. Special attention is merited by the Lachish letters which will be discussed below. Even the important Ahiram epitaph, about which there have been some disagreements, is now generally dated in the 12th century, the most recent discussion of the evidence pointing to the end of this century (c. 1100 B. C.). <sup>58</sup>

For the sake of brevity some of the important inscriptions discovered before 1916 (*e. g.*, Ba'al Lebanon plate and Zakir stele of ninth century, Eshmunazar sarcophagus of fifth century, *et al.*) have been omitted from our list. <sup>59</sup> We may make cursory reference here to the fact that the North Semitic inscriptions, consisting of Phoenician, Old Hebrew (illustrated especially by the Moabite Stone and Siloam inscription) and Aramaic, show continuity of development, and ultimately pass over to the so-called "square character" which became the more or less standard form used by the Jews, for hand-written manuscripts and later in printing, down to the present day. <sup>60</sup>

The Lachish letters constitute one of the most dramatic discoveries pertaining to the history of writing made in

recent years. They have also the most direct bearing upon contemporary Biblical records of any epigraphic materials yet found in Palestine. Consisting of eighteen ink-inscribed sherds, several of them complete, they contain letters written from outposts to an official in command of the garrison defending the city of Lachish against the Chaldean attack of 589 B. C.<sup>61</sup>

Besides vividly supplementing Jeremiah's picture of the tense historical situation, these letters furnish direct evidence concerning the ductus employed in writing Hebrew in that prophet's day. The script (Old Hebrew alphabetic, like that of the Ophel ostrakon) and the language (representing the dialect of Judah) give us a perfect example of the characters and the very vernacular used by Jeremiah when he "wrote in the book the evidence of the purchase" of Hanameel's field (Jer. 32:10-11). Baruch must also have employed this self-same script and dialect in writing "from the mouth of Jeremiah . . . upon the roll of a book" (36:2-4, 28, 32). It appears from Jer. 36:17-18 that such writing was not a common achievement even among princes, if we may so interpret their astonishment, and also that Baruch used "leaves" of papyrus (36:23; cf. Isa. 8:1).

Just how early papyrus was commonly used in Palestine we cannot tell;<sup>62</sup> the discovery, also at Lachish, of an inscribed clay seal (Gedaliah seal), belonging to the sixth century B. C. and having on its back a clear impression of the papyrus document to which it had been attached, attests the use of this material for commercial or other correspondence at this time.<sup>63</sup>

Without doubt the large use of papyrus, so much more perishable than ostraca or stone, accounts for the paucity of epigraphic remains discovered in Palestine and Syria. The situation is slightly relieved by the finding of many brief inscriptions on seals and seal impressions, some of

which throw light on Biblical names and add to our knowledge of the ductus in use during this period.<sup>64</sup>

From the fifth century B. C. we have the first extensive papyrus documents to be found (discovered 1904-07), the interesting Elephantine Papyri.<sup>65</sup> They are not only of great historical and linguistic importance, but preserve for us the writing of Dispersion Jews of Upper Egypt in a language like that of the Biblical Aramaic of Ezra and Nehemiah. The dry soil of Egypt has since yielded numerous other papyrus documents (literary texts, diplomatic and business records, private letters, etc.) in Aramaic and Hebrew, covering roughly the period from sixth century B. C. to eighth century A. D., and thus giving continuity to the story of writing.<sup>66</sup> Many Greek papyri found in Egypt reveal the increasing spread and supremacy of the Greek alphabet (originally derived from the Phoenician) which from about the fourth century B. C. onward greatly influenced writing throughout the Near East.<sup>67</sup>

Glancing back over the course of the development which we have traced, more especially the growth of alphabetic writing, we become aware of the organic relation between the most ancient alphabets known and our own modern systems. We see that the revolutionary effects upon writing produced by the introduction of the alphabet, which the Semites of the second millennium B. C. laboriously wrought out and developed, have continued to yield their beneficial results to mankind. Alphabetic writing has not only furnished a most convenient vehicle of expression for the thoughts and communications of men, but hand in hand with it, written in the symbols which it brought into being, have come down the cultural and religious traditions, customs, beliefs which have entered into the fabric of our Western civilization.

The past twenty years of excavation and research have brought such a phenomenal increase in our knowledge of the subject that we await with eager interest every additional epigraphic discovery which gives promise of completing the picture. Many aspects and stages of the process are still in that twilight zone between conjecture and certainty, but the general progress of letters is becoming more and more obvious. Prediction of what the next two decades may bring forth would be ill-advised and hazardous, since a single new discovery may at any moment alter completely certain of the conclusions held hitherto.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Additional bibliographical notes on the inscriptions listed on p 16 and which are not treated in detail in the text. Numbers correspond to the number in the list, p. 16.

## 9. Yehimilk inscription:

Montet, *Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes rendus* (1929), p 250; Dunand, *RB*, XXXIX (1930), p. 322, with copy and photograph.

## 10 Ahiram sarcophagus.

Lidzbarski, *Nachr. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen* (Phil. Kl.), 1923-4, p. 43; *OLZ*, 30 (1927), p. 453; Dussaud, *Syria*, 5 (1924), p. 210, 6 (1925), p 104; Torrey, *JAOS*, 45 (1925), p. 269; Bauer, *OLZ*, 28 (1925), p 129; Spiegelberg, *OLZ*, 29 (1926), p. 735; Albright, *JPOS*, 6 (1926), pp. 76-84; 7 (1927), p. 122; Montet, "Byblos et l'Egypte" (1928), Pl. CXXXIX-CXLI; Vincent, *RB*, 24 (1925), p. 183; 25 (1926), p. 463; V. Müller, *AfO*, VII (1931), p 50.

## 11. Roueisseh spearhead:

S. Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, XI (1926), pp. 329-58; Dussaud, *Syria*, VIII (1927), p. 185, with photo.

## 12. Gezer calendar:

S. Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*, V, p. 2 and Pl. XVI; J. Lindblom, *Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, VIII (1931). D Düringer, "Le Iscrizioni Antico-ebraiche Palestinesi" (Florence, 1934) gives extensive bibliographies on this and some of the following inscriptions.

13. Abibaal inscription:  
Dussaud, *Syria*, V (1924), Pl. XLII; VIII (1927), p. 81;  
Montet, *RB*, 25 (1926), p. 321.
14. Elibaal inscription  
Dussaud, *Syria*, VI (1925), pp. 101-110 and Pl. XXV; Montet, *RB*, 25 (1926), p. 323, Vincent, *RB*, 25 (1926), p. 462; Torrey, *JAOS*, 46 (1926), p. 237, Lidzbarski, *OLZ*, 30 (1927), p. 453.
15. Samaria ostraca:  
G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-10* (1924), I, p. 239 ff.; Albright, *JPOS*, V (1925), p. 38 ff.; XI (1931), pp. 248 ff.; Noth, *ZDPV* (1927), pp. 211-44.
17. Kilamuwa inscription:  
F. von Luschan, *Ausgr. in Sendschirli*, IV (1911), p. 375; Littmann, *Sitzungsber. Preuss. Ak. Wiss. Berlin* (1911), p. 976, Brockelmann, *ibid*, pp. 1142 f.; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, 3 (1902-15), p. 218, Bauer, *ZDMG*, 67 (1913), p. 684; 68 (1914), p. 227; Torrey, *JAOS*, 35 (1915-17), p. 364, Albright, *JPOS*, 6 (1926), pp. 84-5; Montgomery, *JBL*, 47 (1926), p. 196.
19. Jerusalem (Ophel) ostrakon:  
S. A. Cook, *PEFQS* (1924), pp. 180-86; Albright, *JPOS*, 6 (1926), pp. 88-93.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For discussion supporting precedence of Egyptian civilization see Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (Stuttgart, 1926-31, 5 vols.), vol. I, p. 474, and Langdon, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. I, pp. 462 f., opposing view by C. L. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, pp. 183 f. (Oxford, 1930), pp. 183 ff., also by Scharff, *ZAS*, vol. 17 (1935), pp. 89 f.

<sup>2</sup> "Hieratic," meaning "sacred" writing, is a misnomer, since this writing was originally, at least, employed for secular purposes.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Jensen, *Geschichte der Schrift* (Hanover, 1925), pp. 49 and 187.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. H. Gardiner, "Origin and Development of Egyptian Writing," *JEA*, II (1915), pp. 61 ff.; K. Sethe, "Zur Reform der ägyptischen Schriftlehre," *ZAS*, XLV (1908), pp. 36 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Fr. Delitzsch in 1897 attempted to prove that cuneiform did not develop from pictographic writing but through the building-up of a limited number of original conventional signs. Cf. his *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (Leipzig, 1897). His theory, however, was convincingly disproved by G. A. Barton and others. Cf. Barton, *JAOS*,



XXXIII (1903), pp 23-28; *ibid.*, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing* (2 parts, Leipzig, 1913).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. standard edition, J. A. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1915).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. T. G. Pinches, *PEFQS* (1904), pp 229-244; also C. H. W. Johns, *ibid.* (1905), pp. 206-210.

<sup>8</sup> Specific treatment of these will be found elsewhere in this volume. Further mention of the Byblian script will be made below, though it should be noted that this script is not truly hieroglyphic.

<sup>9</sup> For a brief treatment of views held before 1916, see the writer's paper in *Macdonald Presentation Volume* (Princeton University Press, 1933), pp 181-91, and literature cited there.

<sup>10</sup> Early descriptions and interpretations of this monument were written by Noldeke, *Die Inschrift des K. Mesa von Moab* (1870), Ginsburg, *The Moabite Stone* (1870); Driver, in *EB*, vol. III, col. 3041, *PEFQS* (1870), pp 169 ff and (1871), pp. 281 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (1906), pp. 129 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. R. F. Butin, K. Lake, R. P. Blake *et al.* in *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XXI (1928), pp 1-61; XXV (1932), pp 95-203.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. A. H. Gardiner and A. E. Cowley, *JEA*, III (1916), pp. 1 ff., 17 ff., also K. Sethe, "Der Ursprung des Alphabets," *Nachr. d. K. Ges. zu Göttingen* (1916), pp 87-161; Gardiner, *PEFQS* (1929), pp 48 f.; Cowley, *JEA*, XV (1929), pp. 200 f., Sethe, *ZDMG*, LXXX (1926), pp. 24-29 (N. F., V).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. literature cited by H. Jensen, *OLZ*, XXXI (1928), pp. 650-55; Leibovitch, *ZDMG*, LXXXIV (N. F. IX, 1930), pp 2 f.; Butin, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXV (1932), pp 131-2; *ibid.*, *Studies and Documents*, VI, *Excavations and Protosinaitic Inscriptions at Serabit el Khadem*, ed. by K. Lake (1936), p 32, n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> So named to distinguish them from the properly-called Sinaitic inscriptions consisting of a large number of Nabatean inscriptions from the first few centuries A. D.

<sup>16</sup> Early attempts at dating these inscriptions began with Petrie who first placed them in the 18th dynasty, c 1500 B. C. under Thothmes III; Ed. Meyer, following von Bissing, also assigned them to the 18th dynasty; cf. B. L. Ullman *AJA*, XXXVIII (1934), p 361; K. Sethe thought first of the Hyksos period, following the 12th dynasty, but both he and von Bissing changed later to the earlier dating. The consensus of opinion at present holds to the 12th dynasty date.

<sup>17</sup> H. Grimme stood practically alone in claiming a hieratic basis for the Serabit alphabet. Cf. his *Althebräische Inschriften vom Sinai* (Darmstadt, 1923).

<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that H. Bauer, *OLZ* (1921), pp. 241-246, held the acrophonic principle to be incorrect, and denied any dependence between the Protosinaitic and Egyptian on one hand and the Semitic and Protosinaitic on the other. Cf. W. F. Albright's comment on this view

in *JPOS*, XV (1935), p. 335. E Meyer also, in *Geschichte des Altertums* (1931), vol. II, refused to see any relation between the Serabit letters and the Phoenician alphabet.

<sup>19</sup> *JEA*, XV (1929), p. 217.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the excellent discussion of this point by Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven, 1936), pp. 12-17. Cf. also Butin, *Mizraim*, II (1936), p. 56.

<sup>21</sup> "Les Inscriptions Protosinaïtiques," *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte*, XVI (1933-4), fasc. 2, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *JPOS*, XV (1935), p. 335. The whole article is one of the most penetrating and suggestive treatments of the subject and deserves careful consideration.

<sup>23</sup> *Studies and Documents*, VI (1936), pp. 32-4. Cf. also Butin's review of Leibovitch's article in *Mizraim*, II (1936), pp. 81-2.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ex. 34:28, also Ex. 17:14.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Sir Charles Marston's *New Bible Evidence* (New York, 1934-5), pp. 178-182.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Die Lösung des Sinaschriftproblems* (1926).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. especially the discussions between Sethe and Grimme in *ZDMG*, LXXX (1926), pp. 24 ff. and 137 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *AfO*, V (1929), p. 237.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Syria*, XI (1930), pp. 1-10. I. Gelb, *AJSL*, XLVII (1931), p. 135, thinks the script is based on Hittite hieroglyphs.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 60 (1935), pp. 3-6; *ibid.*, No. 63 (1936), p. 11; *AJA*, XXXVIII (1934), p. 198; *ibid.*, XL (1936), p. 163.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Mélanges Maspero* (Cairo, 1935), vol. I, pp. 567-71. For dating cf. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 63 (1936), pp. 10-11.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. evidence given in Z. S. Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17. Note also the bibliography on this subject suggested by Harris in notes accompanying the discussion.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Butin, *Mizraim*, II (1936), p. 82; Albright, *AfO*, V (1932), pp. 150-52. Cf. also Ullman, *Ancient Writing and its Influence* (1932), p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> W. F. Albright published a brief list of this kind in *BASOR*, No. 58 (1935), p. 29.

<sup>35</sup> *BASOR*, No. 60 (1935), pp. 5-6; *ibid.*, No. 63 (1936), p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *PEFQS*, 67 (1935), pp. 128-41; continued in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, LXIX (1937), pp. 43-58.

<sup>37</sup> *PEQ*, LXIX, pl. IV.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *18th Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund* (1900), pp. 31-2; also Petrie's *The Formation of the Alphabet* (London, 1912).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Albright's remarks in *BASOR*, No. 60 (1936), p. 5, n. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Syria*, X (1929) and succeeding numbers. Since the Ras Shamra texts will find specific treatment elsewhere in this volume, we shall attempt here only a summary of points essential to the present discussion.

<sup>41</sup> Bauer, *ZDMG*, LXXXIV (N. F. IX, 1930), pp. 251-254, and *Ent-*

zifferung der Keilschrifttafeln von Ras Shamra (Halle, 1930); Dhorme, *RB*, XXXIX (1930), pp 571-7; *ibid*, XL (1931), pp 52-56

<sup>42</sup> A. T. Olmstead, in an excursus in *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 12 (Chicago, 1931), pp 61-2, claims the derivation of the cuneiform alphabet from the Sinaitic alphabet, E Ebeling in a paper before the Prussian Academy of Arts and Sciences in January, 1934, attempted to prove derivation of the cuneiform alphabet from Babylonian cuneiform; cf. *JBL*, LIV (March, 1935), p x; Février, in *Rev des Etudes Semitiques*, No 2 (1934), pp. xiii-xvi, tried to show the connection between cuneiform alphabet and South Semitic.

<sup>43</sup> *Op cit*, p. 11, n 1 and p 15.

<sup>44</sup> *JAOS*, LIII (1933), p. 99. Cf also Bauer, "Der Ursprung des Alphabets," *Der Alte Orient* (1936, 1/2).

<sup>45</sup> In 1933, E. Grant discovered a cuneiform tablet at Beth Shemesh which proved to be written in the Canaanite cuneiform script except that it reads from right to left Cf. *Rumerleib* (Haverford, 1934), p 27 and p. 29, fig. 2a and Pl. XX. Also *BASOR*, No. 52 (1933), p. 4 ff.; No. 53 (1934), p 18 ff, No. 54 (1934), p. 26, *PEFQS* (1934), p 94 ff Another similar cuneiform example written right to left is reported by Virolleaud as found at Ras Shamra in Syria, XV (1934), p. 103 As yet no other examples of this alphabet have been found outside Ras Shamra. The Beth Shemesh tablet belongs definitely to Stratum IVa or late V, and therefore dates from the 16th or 15th century, B C.

<sup>46</sup> Besides the excellent work of Virolleaud (cf. Syria, X ff) in making available the transliterations for study, the following may be mentioned: J. Friedrich, *Der Alte Orient*, XXXIII (1933), pp. 25-63; Dussaud, *Rev. de l'hist. des Relig*, CIV (1931), No. 6, pp 353-408; CV (1932, No. 2, pp 245-302; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, No 46 (1932), pp 15-20; No. 50 (1933), pp. 13-20; No. 63 (1936), pp. 23-32; *JPOS*, XII (1932), pp. 185-208; XIV (1934), pp. 101-40; J A Montgomery, "Notes on the Mythological Epic Texts from Ras Shamra," *JAOS*, LIII (1933), LIV (1934), LV (1935), *ad loc*; J. A. Montgomery and Z S. Harris, "Ras Shamra Mythological Texts" (Philadelphia, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. IV, 1935), p. 134; H. L. Ginsberg, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.* (Jan. 1935), pp. 45-72; *Kitvê Ugarit* (Jerusalem, 1936), *Mehqarim leshoniyim*, vol. I, pp. 158; J. W. Jack, "The Ras Shamra Tablets, their bearing on the Old Testament," *Old Testament Studies*, No. I (Edinburgh, 1935), pp. 54. Most of the foregoing works give extensive bibliographical references on the subject.

<sup>47</sup> Specific instances of these correspondences have been indicated, *inter alia*, by Montgomery, *JAOS*, cf. *supra*; Montgomery and Harris, *op. cit.*; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, cf. *supra*; J. W. Jack, *op. cit.*, Ch VI; T H. Gaster, *PEFQS* (1934), pp. 141-8; special mention should be made of H. L. Ginsberg's important studies of Canaanite influence in certain of the Psalms He has convincingly demonstrated that Ps. 29 and certain features of Pss. 92-99 and others reveal adaptation from North Canaanite

hymns of the Ras Shamra texts. Cf. *Kitvê Ugartî*, pp. 129-131; *JBL*, LVI (Mar. 1937, pt. I), p. 14

<sup>48</sup> Two other brief inscriptions, each of four letters, belonging probably to the Middle Bronze Age, have been discovered recently, and should be placed with the Gezer fragment as showing the earliest developments from the Protosinaitic alphabet in Palestine. One of these, inscribed on a limestone plaque was found in 1934 at Shechem in a room of a house of M B II period, along with a juglet of Tell el-Yahûdiyeh ware, thus dating it about the 16th century B C (Cf. A. Alt, *PJB*, 1935, p. 6; S. Yeivin, "The Palestino-Sinaitic Inscriptions," *PEQ*, 69, Jul 1937, p. 184). The other presumably M B inscription appeared on a bronze dagger from a Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) tomb when the dagger was cleaned by the Palestinian Museum. It seems to come from the 16-15th century B C (Cf. W. F. Albright, *AJA*, XLI, 1937, p. 148, n. 2). The latter inscription has been published in *Antiquity* (Sept. 1937), pp. 359-60, with a photo of the dagger, Pl. XII

<sup>49</sup> Cf. W. R. Taylor, *BASOR*, No. 41 (1931), pp. 27-29; Albright, *BASOR*, No. 58 (1935), pp. 28-29, also Butin, *Harv Theol. Rev.*, XXV (1932), p. 97; *Studies and Documents*, VI (1935), pp. 34-5, Sprengling, *The Alphabet* (Chicago, 1931, Oriental Institute Communications, No. 12), pp. 45, 61.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Albright, *AfO*, V (1929), pp. 150-52; *BASOR*, No. 63 (1936), p. 9; Ullman, *Ancient Writing*, p. 12 f.; *AJA*, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 360, 364.

<sup>51</sup> Differences may be noted among the following: Dussaud, *Syria*, XI (1930), p. 392; E. Grant and P. Dhorme, *RB*, XXXIX (1930), pp. 401-2; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 58 (1935), pp. 28-29, No. 63 (1936), p. 9; *ibid.*, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (3rd edit., New York, 1935), pp. 50, 86, n. 74; T. H. Gaster, *PEFQS*, 67 (1935), pp. 134-5; Grimmer, *AfO*, XI (1935), pp. 267-81.

<sup>52</sup> *BASOR*, No. 63 (1936), pp. 9, 11, cf. *AfO*, V (1929), pp. 150-2. Gaster, *PEQ*, 69 (1937), p. 56 and Pl. V, places the Byblos inscription at 1500.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *RB*, XLI (1932), pp. 417-44; XLII (1933), pp. 353-65; *PEFQS* (1934), pp. 76-84; *BASOR*, No. 43 (1931), p. 24.

<sup>54</sup> *RB*, XLI, *supra*.

<sup>55</sup> *RB*, XLII, *supra*.

<sup>56</sup> *JAOS*, LVI (1936), p. 29, n. 8; six reasons are given for this view. Cf. also *BASOR*, No. 63, p. 11.

<sup>57</sup> *PEQ*, 69 (1937), pp. 49-52.

<sup>58</sup> *BASOR*, No. 63, p. 8, especially n. 1; cf. *JPOS*, VI (1929), pp. 76-84, for notes on translation.

<sup>59</sup> Discussion of these is given by Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff.; Z. S. Harris, *op. cit.*, presents the development of the Phoenician script through the Punic and Neo-Punic inscriptions down to the first century A. D.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. further, Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. J. L. Starkey, *PEFQS*, 67 (1935), pp. 198 ff. and succeeding

numbers; H. Torczyner, *Bialik Memorial Volume* (Tel-Aviv, 1935); W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, Nos. 58, 61, 62, 63, *ad loc.*; H. L. Ginsberg, *BJPES*, III (1935), pp. 77-86.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the interesting discussion by C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London, 1918), 255-60.

<sup>63</sup> *PEFQS*, 67 (1935), pp. 195 ff.; *AJA*, XL (1936), p. 133.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. seals of Shema, Shebna, Eliakim, Gedaliah, *et al.*, and, *inter alia*, discussions as in *ZAW*, XLVII (1929), p. 16; *JPOS*, VI (1926), pp. 93-102, *JBL*, LI (1932), pp. 77-106, *BASOR*, Nos. 31, 43, 58, *PEFQS*, 67 (1935), pp. 195-207.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (London, 1923).

<sup>66</sup> For the evolution of the Aramaic cursive script between the sixth and first centuries B.C. cf. W. F. Albright in *JBL*, LVI (Sept., 1937, pt. III).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. for example Jensen's discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff. of the scripts of Asia Minor, among others, derived from the Greek.

## THE PRESENT STATE OF ANATOLIAN AND HITTITE STUDIES

ALBRECHT GOETZE

Yale University

In 1933 I contributed a full account of our present-day knowledge of pre-Hellenic Asia Minor to the *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* which forms part of the new edition of Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*.<sup>1</sup> This book may very well serve as a starting point for the following discussion which, then, aims at an evaluation of the work done in this field since 1933.

Though steady progress is being made, it must be said in advance that Anatolian Studies are still in their beginnings. But the archaeological material has been enormously increased by new finds; and the old material, both archaeological and philological, is being continuously studied and restudied. It is particularly gratifying that the government of the Turkish Republic furthers this research in every respect. By establishing a new museum at Ankara and professorships for Assyriology and for Hittitology at the recently founded university in the capital, it has created a homestead for all pertinent work in the country itself.<sup>2</sup>

### I. *Cultural and Ethnic Layers Down to 1200 B. C.*

The outstanding general contribution towards Anatolian prehistory is K. Bittel's book *Præhistorische Forschung in Kleinasien*.<sup>3</sup> Extensive studies in the Turkish museums and his own fieldwork have enabled the author (who holds the position of a "Wissenschaftlicher Referent" in the Istanbul branch of the German Archaeological Institute) to discuss authoritatively all archaeological material from Eastern Anatolia down to 1900,

and from Western Anatolia down to 1400. Additions to the book are given in *AfO* 11 (1936), 48-51. The Hittite archaeology which fell outside of its scope has been studied separately by the same author (see below).

The Stone Age is still represented only sporadically;<sup>4</sup> the so-called neolithic tools are doubtful as to their date in almost every case. Copper was apparently used very early in Asia Minor; it is attested for Troy I<sup>5</sup> as well as for Alişar I and even the oldest layers of this mound are in reality aeneolithic.<sup>6</sup>

During the Bronze Age we have to distinguish between two cultural provinces, one in the west of the peninsula and one in the east, for which Troy and Alişar respectively are still representative.

In the western province the oldest remains known so far have been unearthed at Kum Tepe near Troy.<sup>7</sup> It is said that the initial phase of the mound, immediately above the virgin soil, is within the Neolithic Age and antedates anything yet uncovered at Troy. This statement is based chiefly on ceramics. Underneath the strata corresponding to Troy V and IV, finds begin to appear which must be labeled Troy I. They represent, however, merely the most advanced stage (c.) of a homogeneous culture that, in this mound, has two predecessors (b. and a.) clearly defined by their pottery. The first phase (a.) is characterized by vessels of a polished ware, brown, gray or black, with flat bottom, nearly straight sides, and plain, thin, upright rim; some pieces bear geometric designs produced by burnishing.<sup>8</sup> In the second phase (b.) polished bowls with rounded shoulders are common, the rim being enlarged by a thick offset roll inside; black and gray are the predominant colors. In the third phase (c.) polished ware in black, gray, brown, red and even yellow occurs, angular profiles are frequent and an incised decoration makes its first appearance. From the anthropological point

of view contracted burials are significant, two of which are from phase a, and one from b and c each.<sup>9</sup>

Also Thermi on Lesbos,<sup>10</sup> where Miss Lamb has now concluded her research, has furnished strata that are earlier than Schliemann-Dörpfeld's Troy I. Thermi I was a town without fortifications, its inhabitants peaceful peasants. Their houses were built of stone on irregular but roughly rectangular foundations. The plans of houses are better known in Thermi II where some houses may justly be termed *megara*; this coincides very well with the outcome of Blegen's investigations at Troy. A crucible almost on the virgin soil shows that metal was known even to the earliest settlers. Metal implements confirm this, though stone tools and stone weapons (among them also battle-axes) are quite common. As to the pottery, it should be emphasized that the Thermi potters were able from the very beginning to produce black and red wares as well. The change in color, then, is deliberate; hence it does not furnish a criterion of age in later periods, as had been assumed before.<sup>11</sup>

Thermi III develops gradually out of the older city. Copper now becomes more plentiful; also figurines begin to appear. As far as architecture is concerned, Thermi IVa begins an entirely new period; the houses are now differently orientated. Yet, ceramically, IVa belongs together with III. The period develops some new forms (e. g. cups with bent handles, rounder and better balanced forms of jugs), while others (e. g. the tripod stand) disappear. A new technique resulting in a brown fabric gradually makes its appearance; it becomes predominant in Thermi IV.

Thermi IV/V can safely be paralleled with Troy II. During the later part of this period the city became fortified. The more dangerous conditions of life thus indicated seem later to have compelled Thermi's inhabitants to abandon the city.<sup>12, 13</sup>



From an archaeological point of view Troy is still the most important site in Western Anatolia; its significance for dating purposes can hardly be overestimated. This has become particularly true now that C. W. Blegen, conducting yearly campaigns since 1932, has checked and supplemented the findings of the previous excavations.<sup>14</sup> The results are especially gratifying with respect to the first cultural period; furthermore the stratification of Troy II to V, previously only badly known, has now been investigated much more thoroughly.

Troy I must have covered a long period. No fewer than 10 sub-periods have been established, the first three of which are represented by buildings. They are distinctly of the megaron type.<sup>15</sup> The walls are constructed of stone, while brick has not been found; sometimes the herring-bone technique of bricklaying is applied. It is now certain that Troy I was more than a village; it was the worthy predecessor of the great city of Troy II. Copper is ascertained as early as Ia.<sup>16</sup>

Troy II was already very well known. Blegen has now proved that it developed out of I without any break.<sup>17</sup> His most important contribution consists in a careful examination of the stratigraphy of Troy II to V, resulting in a much clearer idea of the ceramic peculiarities of the respective strata. Moreover the observation of imports provides new possibilities for dating the respective layers. Thermi, abandoned before Troy II came to a close, renders it possible to distinguish an older and a younger phase even within Troy II.<sup>18</sup>

The result, as far as it can be gathered from the preliminary reports, is as follows:<sup>19</sup>

- II 1: hand-made wares, roughly Hubert Schmidt's first group. The slip is gray to brownish-red.
- II 2: the wheel was introduced. The so-called *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* is unknown in Thermi, hence

either younger in Troy than II 1 or a local Trojan form.

- III: plain flaring bowls and small tankards or mugs. lids and pots with representations of the human face ("Gesichtsvasen"), fine two-handled goblets ("δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον"), small jugs in red wash ware and jugs with long necks ("Schnabelkannen").
- IV: red wash bowls with pebble polishing and with rounded incurved rim; small one-handled cups. The plain flaring bowls of II and III have disappeared.
- V: bowls with red crosses, small tankard-like cups in red wash ware.

Together with III there appear EH wares;<sup>20</sup> latest EH is still found in IV.<sup>21</sup> In VI there are embedded a few MH sherds<sup>22</sup> (Matt-painted);<sup>23</sup> the usual contemporaries of VI, however, are LH wares, starting in with LH I and leading down to LH III (Palace Style),<sup>24</sup> and Gray Minyan.<sup>25</sup> Both wares are still present in VIIa.<sup>26</sup> This results in the following chronological scheme:

	EH	Troy III
		<hr/>
1900	<hr/>	Troy IV
	MH	Troy V
		<hr/>
1650	<hr/>	
		Troy VI
	LH	
		Troy VIIa
1200	<hr/>	<hr/>

The synchronisms thus indicated exclude any low dat-

ing of Troy II as has been advocated particularly by N. Åberg.<sup>27</sup> They show that Troy II came to an end considerably before 2000.

As far as the culture of Troy VI is concerned, the picture has been very luckily supplemented by the fortunate discovery of a cemetery of the period.<sup>28</sup> It shows that the Trojans then practiced cremation and deposited the ashes in jars; the cremation seems to have been performed near the burial grounds, and the site where the ritual took place seems to have been identified.<sup>29, 30</sup>

The better knowledge of the ceramical development in Troy necessitates also a revision of the judgment formerly passed on the Yortan cemetery and its ceramics.<sup>31</sup> Since we know that already Thermi I/II had red wares, H. Frankfort's argumentation that the mixture of black and red wares to be observed at Yortan dates this site between the black wares of Troy I and the red wares of Troy II has become untenable. Moreover it has been shown that Yortan itself extends over a longer period, part of its pottery corresponding to that of Troy I, and another to Troy II.<sup>32</sup>

A valuable dating clue has been provided more recently by the discovery of an undisturbed tomb in a cemetery of the Yortan type near Babaköy (Balıkesir). It is said to contain imports from the Cyprian Early Bronze Age which dates in the second half of the IIIrd millennium.<sup>33</sup>

The question as to the connection of the culture of Western Anatolia with the Luwians, a thesis which has been set forth in my *Kleinasien* cannot be resumed here. It may however be stated that my thesis has been harshly criticized.<sup>34</sup> The present state of affairs makes postponement of the decision advisable. It is to be hoped that with the steady increase of material this reserve can soon be abandoned.

In the eastern province of Anatolia the picture of the

The most urgent and puzzling problem that eastern Anatolia presents is that of the painted Cappadocian pottery (Alışar III). I have formerly expressed the opinion that it was brought into the country by the Indo-European element among the Hittites (Kg 39 f.). It is obviously true that the culture of Alışar III is of foreign origin and has been introduced into Anatolia in a fully developed state. It is equally true however that it is almost lacking at Boğazköy, the capital of the Hittites—at least as far as our present knowledge goes. It seems at home in the southern part of the Cappadocian plateau where it is well attested at Alışar, Has-Hüyük<sup>46</sup> and Kül-Tepe<sup>47</sup>. The question deserves further investigation. The peculiar situation may indicate that the Indo-European invaders consolidated themselves first in the region around Kayseri and only later expanded to the north; some historical evidence could be cited in favor of this interpretation. If this is not the case, the connection posited between the Cappadocian pottery and the Indo-Europeans must be discarded entirely. Investigations at Şamramaltı, near Van, may prove significant, because the ware in question is said to be extant among the pottery from this site.<sup>48</sup> For the time being the assertion to this effect is not proven, however, so that it cannot be used as an argument in favor of eastern origin of the Alışar III style.<sup>49</sup>

The regions north and south of the high mountain ranges that flank the Anatolian plateau constitute possibly cultural provinces of their own.

Pontus is as good as unexplored, so that the *argumentum e silentio*—absence of any trace of the older Anatolian cultures—lacks validity. The finds from Artvin<sup>50</sup> and Ordu<sup>51</sup> suggest some interrelation with the Caucasus region toward the end of the Hittite period.<sup>52</sup>

As far as Cilicia is concerned, Tarsus, thanks to Hetty Goldman's work, promises to become a new archaeological

landmark. At present—just after the close of the third campaign that provided a rich archaeological harvest—the preliminary reports on the first two seasons are available.<sup>53</sup> They show that underneath the layers which correspond to the great Hittite period (1400-1200) and which are characterized by "drab ware" with an admixture of Mycenaean pottery (LH III, esp. Granary Style) an older stratum begins to appear which contains, beside a burnished slip ware, also a painted variety of pottery. The slip ware, by its technique as well as by the few shapes that are known, recalls the pottery of Boğazköy IV; the painted ware cannot be connected with the Cappadocian ware (Alışar III), it may turn out to have Syrian affinities.

While this report is being written, it has become known that J. Garstang also has started excavation in Cilicia.<sup>54</sup> Under these circumstances the evaluation of the investigations made by E. Gjerstad on Cilician mounds<sup>55</sup> had better be postponed as premature.

The eastern extent and the eastern connections of the Anatolian cultures will be brought to a very welcome test, should the expedition to Van that Harvard University plans<sup>56</sup> materialize.

A discussion of the Iron Age in Anatolia that starts approximately 1200 B. C. is beyond the scope of this chapter. It may however briefly be stated that the Phrygian period of Central Anatolia, thanks to the excavations at Alışar (stratum IV) and at Boğazköy (building period II on the Büyükkale), archaeologically is now much better known than before.

## II. *Assyrian Colonization in Cappadocia*

Since 1933 the material has considerably increased. The publication of the tablets excavated by B. Hrozný on the Kül-Tepe in 1925 has not been started yet, but J. Lewy

has edited three volumes of tablets in the Louvre collections (TCL XIX, XX and XXI, 1935, 1936 and 1937 respectively). Also I. J. Gelb's volume *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* (OIP XXVII, 1935) contains some specimens from Kül-Tepe (nos. 54-62), though it is chiefly devoted to the tablets excavated at Alişar (nos. 1-53).<sup>57, 58</sup> It has since become certain that a settlement of Assyrian merchants existed also at Boğazköy.<sup>59</sup> The characteristics of all these tablets, interestingly enough, are shared by some specimens of writing excavated near Kerkuk and published by Th. J. Meek.<sup>60</sup>

The fundamental treatment of the deeds among the Cappadocian tablets which J. Lewy had started in 1930 has been completed in a second volume.<sup>61</sup>

To the last of the new Louvre volumes Mrs. J. Lewy has contributed drawings of 113 seal impressions found on the tablets of the three volumes.<sup>62</sup> This very welcome procedure makes the volume important also to archaeologists. The simple stamps collected on plate 238 deserve special attention. Impressions of this kind occur exclusively on tablets dealing with the affairs of the native people of Anatolia and can, then, safely be regarded as a feature of Cappadocian culture.<sup>63</sup>

The question as to the more exact nature of the relationship that prevailed between the natives and the Assyrians, from the point of view of the historian, is the most significant problem of the period. In the new Louvre tablets, as J. Lewy has pointed out,<sup>64</sup> Bitḫana and Anita occur as two successive Anatolian rulers; the latter occurs also on an Alişar fragment. Their identity with Bitḫana and Anitta of Kuššar, known from a Boğazköy tablet in the Hittite language,<sup>65</sup> can hardly be doubted. This tablet proves that Hittite was already spoken and written in Cappadocia during the Assyrian period, provided the inscription is not legendary and of later date. Assertions to

this effect have been made,<sup>66</sup> but the arguments set forth in their favor are far from being convincing. Neither do they lead anywhere, for the Labarna dynasty cannot by any means be severed from the Hittites. And should not Labarna and Anitta belong to the same ethnic layer?

Under these circumstances, an analysis of the native names contained in the Cappadocian texts has become more and more imperative.<sup>67</sup> They can be supposed to reflect the ethnic conditions fairly well. In my opinion the thesis that the proper names in *-uman* are probably Luwian,<sup>68</sup> in spite of contradicting critics,<sup>69</sup> still holds. The reference to the feminine suffix *-sar*<sup>70</sup> does not invalidate the argument; on the contrary, today it seems possible to claim even this suffix for Luwian.<sup>71</sup> An early publication of the entire Luwian material in the Boğazköy collection would undoubtedly further this problem.

The Old Semitic (Amoritic?) background of the Cappadocian culture constitutes another problem with important implications. It has been attacked formerly by J. Lewy.<sup>72</sup> It is to be hoped that the Mari tablets will contribute also to the solution of this far-reaching question.<sup>73</sup>

### III. *The Hittite Period*

Original work in the Hittite field has been done only by a very limited group of scholars. The progress in this new branch of science, therefore, has been slow. On the other hand, its previous results have impressed themselves on both historians and linguists to such a degree that much more attention is paid to Hittite history, culture and language in works of a more general character than ever before.

The political history of the Hittite period has been outlined in 1928 in my *Das Hethiter-Reich*.<sup>74</sup> During the following years E. Cavaignac has been particularly interested in this subject; after a series of critical studies<sup>75</sup>

and a small book on the time of the great Šuppiliuma,<sup>76</sup> he now has published a comprehensive presentation of Hittite history in *Le Problème Hittite* (1936).<sup>77</sup> What Hittite history really needs is more research in the primary sources which by no means are exhausted. Recent excavations have contributed nothing spectacular to the historical texts; but nevertheless new evidence will gradually accumulate.<sup>78</sup>

A crucial period in Hittite history—and that of the other nations of the Near East as well—is the gap between 1650 and 1400. The fact that virtually nothing is known about these two and a half centuries has been combined with the appearance in history of the Hurrites. This complex of problems has been discussed by me in *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer* (1936),<sup>79</sup> on a larger scope. The opinions that have been set forth there from the point of view of the historian, coincide to an encouraging degree with those expressed before, from an archaeological angle, by A. Moortgat in *Die bildende Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvölker* (1933).<sup>80</sup> The evidence on the Hurrites is fully collected and discussed in A. Ungnad's *Subartu* (1937),—Ungnad calls the Hurrians Subareans,—a book that for this reason has a bearing on the Hittite problem too.<sup>81</sup>

Large numbers of Boğazköy tablets are still unpublished. In recent years only two new volumes of the *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* have been issued: *KUB XXVII* (by C.-G. von Brandenstein) and *KUB XXVIII* (by H. G. Güterbock). The two volumes concentrate on the so-called foreign languages, the first on Hurritic, the second on Hattic fragments. They therefore are more significant for linguistics than for historical research.

Also the translation of important texts has been lagging. The annals of Tudhaliya (IV) are dealt with by



R. Radoszek, unfortunately in Polish only.<sup>52</sup> A. Goetze, in cooperation with H. Pedersen, commented upon a religious text on the treatment of a paralytical stroke suffered by king Muršiliš.<sup>53</sup> E. H. Sturtevant offered a translation of one of the important but difficult instructions, namely that of priests and temple servants.<sup>54</sup> E. Forrer dealt with a Hittite tablet which apparently contains the beginning of the originally Hurritic Kumarpi epic.<sup>54a</sup>

The increasing knowledge of the language will soon permit an easier approach to the Hittite religion for the description of which abundant and precious material is already available. As a matter of fact, tablets of religious content predominate among the Hittite texts. The presentation of the facts in Kg 122-60 has been supplemented to some extent by G. Furlani's *La Religione degli Hittiti* (1936).<sup>55</sup> The investigation of ritual and mantic practices promises many new results and interesting vistas. Their eastern and western connections have already attracted well deserved attention.<sup>56</sup> It is to be hoped that after these beginnings further research in the primary sources will render more and more vivid the picture that has already been regained.

The linguistic problems of the Hittite language, to an increasing extent, appeal to Indo-Europeanists. Sturtevant's *Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language* (1933) has the merit of having demonstrated to all comparatists the significance of Hittite for their work.<sup>57</sup> The question as to the position of Hittite among the related languages is also of bearing to the historian. Sturtevant's Indo-Hittite hypothesis has been rejected by most scholars;<sup>58</sup> but the introduction of Tocharian<sup>59</sup> to this problem has increased the complexity of the situation. At present, much seems to depend on phonological problems, particularly that of the laryngeals, to which the discussion has narrowed down, but of which no solution has been offered yet that is generally accepted.<sup>60</sup>

In the field of descriptive Hittite grammar primarily two contributions are worth mentioning: G. Bechtel's *Hittite Verbs in -sk-* (1936), a study that, by observing differences of aspects, subtilizes the apparent simplicity of the Hittite verbal system,<sup>91</sup> and L. Zuntz's *Die hethitischen Ortsadverbien arḫa, parā, pīan*, where the question of eventual nominal and verbal composition is investigated and characteristically Indo-European conditions are found.

Since the publication of the Kg the decipherment of the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs has reached a decisive stage. After the waste of so much energy (Kg 167) with no result had almost created an atmosphere of despair, the problem yielded finally to the efforts of P. Meriggi, H. Th. Bossert, E. Forrer, I. J. Gelb, B. Hrozný and H. G. Güterbock.<sup>92</sup> Two books that are promised for the immediate future will presumably bring this pioneering period to a close: B. Hrozný's 4th volume of interpretations which, it is announced,<sup>93</sup> will contain also an up-to-date presentation of the known grammatical facts, and H. G. Güterbock's treatment and evaluation of the 280 bullae, many of them bilingual, which are the most spectacular find of the campaign of 1936 at Boğazköy.<sup>94</sup>

Only the general significance of the new evidence can be stressed here; lack of space prevents entering into details.

The new writing system, as it appears after the successful decipherment, is built up from a mixture of ideograms and phonetic signs.<sup>95</sup> It is gratifying to state that divergences in the determination of sign-values are gradually being eliminated so that, with a few exceptions, general agreement is reached.<sup>96</sup> The reading of the ideograms, in numerous cases, can be ascertained by variant spellings and by phonetic complements which may amount to a repetition of the word in syllabic spelling after the respective ideogram. The stock of phonetic signs seems

to be limited to combinations of a consonant with following vowels and seems to ignore the difference between voiceless and voiced stops.<sup>97</sup> The system thus constituted is strikingly similar to the Cypriote syllabary.

The language in process of decipherment is undoubtedly one of Indo-European characteristics and related to cuneiform Hittite on the one hand and to Luwian on the other.<sup>98</sup> The older opinion, advanced also in Kg (p. 166), which had assumed a relationship to Hurrite, has now been definitely disproved. The native name of the new language is still unknown,<sup>99</sup> but this is an unessential mishap. Already now an outlook on new problems is opened, problems both for the historian and for the linguist.

#### NOTES

In the present paper the following abbreviations are used: AAA = *Annals of Anthropology and Archaeology*, AfO = *Archiv für Orientalforschung*, AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*, AJb = *Archäologisches Jahrbuch*, AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Arch. Or. = *Archiv Orientalní*, BoTU = *Boghazkøttexte in Umschrift*, BSA = *British School Annual*, DLZ = *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, ESA = *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, HSS = *Harvard Semitic Series*, IF = *Indogermanische Forschungen*, ILN = *Illustrated London News*, JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, KBo = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkøi*, KUB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkøi*, MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, MVAeG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*, OIC = *Oriental Institute Communications*, OIP = *Oriental Institute Publications*, OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, PhZ = *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, Rev. Arch. = *Revue Archéologique*, RHA = *Revue Hittite Asiatique*, ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III 1, 3. 3, dritter Abschnitt, erste Lieferung. Quoted henceforth as Kg.

<sup>2</sup> Also pertinent publications begin to appear in Turkish. Besides the periodical *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* published by the Maarif Vekâleti (State Department of Instruction) which is now in its 3rd volume, the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Committee on Turkish History) has just initiated a *Belleten*.

\* *Istanbul Forschungen herausgegeben von der Abteilung Istanbul des Archäologischen Institutes des Deutschen Reiches*, Band 6 (1934). Quoted henceforth as Bittel, *PrF*.

<sup>4</sup> Bittel, *PrF* 8 f.; St. Przeworski, *Przegląd Historyczny* 31 (1934) 129-42 who however includes much material of younger date, the same author, in *ESA* 10 (1936) 76 ff. publishes stone implements said to come from Kayseri and Smyrna, now at Stockholm. The date of the "megalithic" monuments discovered at Markop near Malatya (*Rev Arch* 6 série 6, 1935, 3-7) is uncertain. On Uzagil (*Kg* 21) see *Man* 10 (1910) 71 f.; the pictures are repeated by St. Przeworski, *Prz. Hist.* 1 c plate 1 a-c. On Cilician sites cf. now J. Garstang, *AAA* 24 (1937) 52 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. fn 16.

<sup>6</sup> H. H. von der Osten, *OIC* 11 (1932) 156, Bittel, *PrF* 13.

<sup>7</sup> Situated on the west bank of the Scamander, some 5 km northwest of Troy and not far from the river's mouth. Short report in *AJA* 39 (1935) 33 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Beşik Tepe, *PhZ* 23 (1923) 126 ff.

<sup>9</sup> To a. or b. may possibly belong the prehistoric sherds from the Hissarlik ridge mentioned *AJA* 36 (1932) 447.

<sup>10</sup> To *Kg* 26 fn 4 add: *BSA* 31 (1933) 148-65; *Ajb* 48 (1933) *Anz.* 363-9 and particularly W. Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos* (1936).

<sup>11</sup> *Kg* 27 on the authority of H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery* 2 (1927) 63.

<sup>12</sup> It was resettled later for awhile, between 1400 and 1200 according to the imports among the ceramics. This later settlement was destroyed by fire.

<sup>13</sup> K. Bittel, in dealing with Thermi, uses the terms Thermi I, II, III for the three stages of ceramical development (called A, B, C by Miss Lamb) and not for the successive settlements. He took this over, it seems, from M. Burkitt and V. G. Childe's *Chronological Table of Prehistory* (*Antiquity* 6, 1932, Supplement). Such a procedure may easily cause confusion and, therefore, should be avoided.

<sup>14</sup> Only preliminary reports are available yet: *AJA* 36 (1932) 431-51; 38 (1934) 223-48; 39 (1935) 6-34, 550-87; 40 (1936) 376-7, 41 (1937) 17-51.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. J. Sperling, *AJA* 41 (1937) 110, an abstract from a paper read at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America.

<sup>16</sup> *AJA* 38 (1934) 226.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 226.

<sup>18</sup> The fact has been pointed out by K. Bittel, *PrF* 33 f.

<sup>19</sup> See particularly *AJA* 39 (1935) 562 where previous statements have been corrected.

<sup>20</sup> *AJA* 39 (1935) 12; according to later observations the respective layer belongs to Troy III.

<sup>21</sup> *AJA* 38 (1934) 230.

<sup>22</sup> *AJA* 38 (1934) 239.

<sup>23</sup> *AJA* 39 (1935) 568.

<sup>24</sup> *AJA* 38 (1934) 234 ff., also 39 (1935) 26 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *AJA* 36 (1932), 437; cf. Bittel, *PrF* 20 f.

<sup>26</sup> *AJA* 39 (1935) 573 f.

<sup>27</sup> *Fornvannen* 26 (1931) 287-303 and the same, *Bronzezeitliche und Früheisenzeitliche Chronologie* 3 (1932) 101 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *AJA* 39 (1935) 26-30; cf. previously W. Dorpfeld, *Troja* (1893) 122 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 584 f.

<sup>30</sup> The question as to whether Troy VI or VIIa should be identified with the Homeric Troy is irrelevant for our purposes. The most recent view of W. Dorpfeld (*Ajb* 51, 1936, *Anz.* 1-13) that Troy VI is the stronghold of Priame and VIIa that of Aeneas presupposes a trust in Greek legendary tradition which I am unable to share

<sup>31</sup> *Kg* 27 ff.

<sup>32</sup> R. W. Hutchinson, *Iraq* 2 (1935) 211-22.

<sup>33</sup> Excavation of Cambridge University in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute; see the note by J. R. Stewart in *Antiquity* 10 (1936) 361 (repeated *AJSL* 53, 1937, 115). Cf. also Bittel, *PrF* plate 3. This date coincides with the opinion of W. F. Albright who (*AJA* 40, 1936, 392) compares the black- and red-burnished pottery of the Palestinian Early Bronze Age (2600-2400).

<sup>34</sup> F. Schachermeyr, *Klio* 27 (1934) 171; the same, *Hirt Festschrift* 1 (1936) 234; W. Brandenstein, *Art. Kleinasiat. Ursprachen* in Pauly-Wissowa *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* Sppl. 6 (1934) 165 ff.; the same, *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamen Forschung* 11 (1935) 61 ff. (cf. *Hirt Festschrift*, 1936, 36 f.); cf. also the outline given by J. Friedrich, *Hirt Festschrift* (1936) 215-24.

<sup>35</sup> Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Türk Tarih* 2 (1934) 1-100; see also K. Bittel, *AfO* 11 (1936) 38-47 (and before *PrF* 60 f. and plates 2, 4 and 6).

<sup>36</sup> K. Bittel, *AfO* 11 (1936) 48 f.; L. Delaporte, *RHA* 24 (1936) 283; *Man* 36 (1936) 153, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *La Turquie Kamaliste* 15 (1936) 2-8 (cf. *AfO* 11, 1937, 394 f.); Remzi Oguz, *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten* 1 (1937) 222-34.

<sup>37</sup> In London a silver bull said to come from northern Anatolia has come to the market (*London Times*, Sept. 16, 1935; *ILN* no. 5031 of Sept. 21, 1935; *AfO* 11, 1936, 97 f.). Its style is so similar to that of another bull from Alaca (*La Turquie Kamaliste* 15 p. 8) that the provenance from Alaca seems to be virtually certain (see also D. Opitz, *AfO* 11 98).

<sup>38</sup> Preliminary reports by K. Bittel (and his cooperators) are published in *MDOG* 70 (1932) 1-29; 72 (1933) 1-53; 73 (1935) 20-39; 74 (1936) 1-75; 75 (1937) 1-70; *Ajb* 46 (1931) *Anz.* 604-19; 48 (1933) *Anz.* 158-76. The results of the seasons of 1931-34 are dealt with in K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock, *Bogazköy, Neue Untersuchungen in der Hethitischen Hauptstadt (Abb. der Preussischen Akad., phil.-hist. Klasse 1935, 1)*. K. Bittel has also begun to publish the small finds from

Winckler-Makridi's previous excavations in Boğazkoy, *Die Kleinfunde der Grabungen 1906-12*, I, *Funde Hethitischer Zeit* (60 *Wiss. Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1937).

<sup>39</sup> MDOG 75 (1937) 11 ff.

<sup>40</sup> MDOG 70 (1932) 28 fig. 13, the real nature of this fragment was disputed (see MDOG 70, 28 and *Ajb* 46, 1931, *Anz* 615) After a careful examination (MDOG 75, 12) it is now certain that it is indeed the fragment of a Cappadocian tablet In view of this fragment and the tablet found in 1935 (MDOG 74, 7 and 64 ff) it can no longer be doubted that H. Winckler made similar finds (cf. E. F. Weidner, *Afo* 10, 1935, 180 fn. 1)

<sup>41</sup> MDOG 74 (1936) 5 ff; 75 (1937) 2 ff.

<sup>42</sup> MDOG 74 (1936) 71 ff, fig 51b I still have doubts whether *Al-lu-wa ma-na*, spread over two lines in the indicated form, is a proper name

<sup>43</sup> Bittel, *Kleinfunde I* (1937) 64.

<sup>44</sup> *Kg.* 160

<sup>45</sup> MDOG 74 (1936) 11; 75 (1937) 14 f

<sup>46</sup> It is highly deplorable that L. Delaporte has published so little on his excavations there: *Contes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1931, 270 f.; *Rev. Arch* 5 série, 35 (1932) 116; *Ajb* 47 (1932) *Anz.* 230-33.

<sup>47</sup> Some new pieces in *Türk Tarih* 1 (1933) 69 ff.

<sup>48</sup> K. Bittel, *PrF* 83 f.

<sup>49</sup> W. F. Albright, *AJA* 40 (1936) 391 f believes in a relationship to Syrian wares. So does W. Brandenstein whose reference to the Hurritic elements among the Cappadocians (*Klio* 30, 1937, 263) must however be rejected (see below fn 67)

<sup>50</sup> K. Bittel, *Türk Tarih* 1 (1933) 149-56; *Ajb* 49 (1934) *Anz* 355-59.

<sup>51</sup> St. Przeworski, *Arch. Or* 7 (1935) 396-414; 8 (1936) 49-62.

<sup>52</sup> St. Przeworski, *l c.* 62-7.

<sup>53</sup> *AJA* 39 (1935) 526-49; 41 (1937) 262-86.

<sup>54</sup> *Afo* 11 (1937) 396 f. quoting *The London Times* of Jan. 5 and of Feb 13, 1937; *ILN* no. 5128 of July 31, 1937 (cf. also *AJSL* 53, 1937, 211 f); *AAA* 24 (1937) 52-68.

<sup>55</sup> *Rev. Arch* 6. série, 3 (1934) 155-203. Cf. also Th. B. Brown, *AAA* 20 (1933) 43-64 and Bittel's critical remarks on this paper, *PrF* 95 fn 3

<sup>56</sup> *AJSL* 51 (1935) 207.

<sup>57</sup> For the fragment with the name of Anitta (see below) (Gelb, no. 1) cf. also *OIP* XIX 140-2.

<sup>58</sup> A single specimen in the Museum of the American University at Beyrouth has been published by A. Goetze in *Berytus* 3 (1936) 76-82. Another single specimen, presented by B. Hrozný, is contained in *Arch. d'Hist. du Droit Oriental* 1 (1937).

<sup>59</sup> See above fn 40 and particularly H. G. Güterbock, *MDOG* 74 (1936) 64 ff Hattuša is mentioned in Kül-Tepe tablets according to J. Lewy, *RHA* 3 (1934) 3 fn. 18.

- <sup>60</sup> HSS X nos. 223-7; cf. p. xxiv ff and the photo of no. 223 on plate 94.
- <sup>61</sup> *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*, 3 und 4 Teil (Mitt. der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Ges. 35, 3, 1935).
- <sup>62</sup> Plates 230-8 On the style of these seals see A. Moortgat, *Die bildende Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvölker* (1932) 16-27.
- <sup>63</sup> J. Lewy, *Arch. d'Hist. du Proch. Oriental* 1 (1937) 91-108 Stamps of this type have been excavated, cp. e.g. Alışar 1536 and 3097 (OIP VII fig. 35), 1846 (*ibid.* fig. 42), b 2559 and b 2439 (OIP XIX fig. 180). Where the provenance is known, it is stratum II.
- <sup>64</sup> RHA 3 (1934) 1-8.
- <sup>65</sup> 2BoTU 7 (= KBo III 22) with the duplicate 2BoTU 30 (= KUB XXVI 71), translated by B. Hrozný, *Arch. Or.* 1 (1929) 273-99.
- <sup>66</sup> K. Bittel, *APAW phil.-hist. Klasse* 1935, 1 13 fn. 1 and again, *Kleinfunde* I (1937) 60. Cf. also I. J. Gelb, OIP XXVII 18.
- <sup>67</sup> Because of the views expressed by A. Ungnad, *Subartu* (1936) 149-51 and A. Gustavs, *AfO* 11 (1936) 146-50 it must be reiterated that the Hurritic names of the Cappadocian tablets form part of the Assyrian nomenclature and do not belong to natives of Asia Minor.
- <sup>68</sup> A. Goetze, *ZA NF* 6 (1931) 260-3.
- <sup>69</sup> F. Sommer, *OLZ* 1935 278; I. J. Gelb, OIP XXVII (1935) 14 ff.
- <sup>70</sup> F. Sommer, l. c.
- <sup>71</sup> Cf. the remarks of so cautious a scholar as J. Lohmann, *IF* 54 (1936) 291 f.
- <sup>72</sup> *ZA NF* 4 (1929) 243-53; *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 110 (1934) 29-65.
- <sup>73</sup> *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1937, 12-20.
- <sup>74</sup> *Der Alte Orient* 27. 2.
- <sup>75</sup> Mostly in RHA.
- <sup>76</sup> *Subbūliūma et son Temps (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 58, 1932)*.
- <sup>77</sup> In the series *Études d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*.
- <sup>78</sup> See the sections on epigraphic finds in the reports on the Boğazköy excavations quoted fn. 38.
- <sup>79</sup> *Institutet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie A* vol. 17 (1936). Cf. also W. Freiherr von Soden, *Der Aufstieg des Assyrischen Reichs (Der Alte Orient 371/2, 1937)*.
- <sup>80</sup> See also the same author's "Bildwerk und Volkstum Vorderasiens zur Hethiterzeit" (8 *Sendschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1934).
- <sup>81</sup> Cf. the reviews of A. Goetze, *JAOS* 57 (1937) 104-9 and of J. Friedrich, *ZDMG* 91 (1937) 204-14.
- <sup>82</sup> *Rocznik Orientalystyczny* 9 (1934) 43-112.
- <sup>83</sup> *Muršili's Sprachlähmung (Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, hist.-filol. Meddelelser XXI 1, 1934)*.
- <sup>84</sup> *JAOS* 54 (1934) 363-406, also separately as Offprint Series no. 4. A revised translation is contained in Sturtevant and Bechtel's *Hittite Cbrestomathy* (1935) 147-74.

<sup>84a</sup> *Annuaire de l'Inst. de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 4 (1936) 688 ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Storia delle Religioni a cura di Raffaele Pettazoni*, vol. 13. The same author has published before some studies on details: *Scene Sacrificali Hittite* (*Aegyptus* 11, 1930/1, 301-62); *Muršiliš II e il concetto del peccato presso gli Hittiti* (*Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 10, 1934, 17-37); *Il Peccato nella Religione degli Hittiti* (*Giornale della Soc. Asiatica Italiana* NS 3, 1935, 129-47); *L'Apologia di Hattušiliš III di Hatti* (*Aegyptus* 17, 1937, 65-97). Also R. Pettazoni, *Confession of Sins in Hittite Religion* (*Gaster Anniversary Volume*, 1936, 467-71) may be mentioned here.

<sup>86</sup> A. Boissier, *Mantique Babylonienne et Mantique Hittite* (1935); G. Furlani, *Mantica Hittita e Mantica Etrusca* (*Studi Etruschi* 10, 1936, 153-62).

<sup>87</sup> Extensive use of Hittite evidence is made particularly by E. Benveniste in *Origines de la Formation des Mots en Indo-Européen* I (1935).

<sup>88</sup> For a more detailed study of the problem compare G. Bonfante, *IF* 52 (1934) 221 ff and 55 (1937) 131-4; T. Milewski, *L'Indo-Hittite et l'Indo-Européen* (*Bull. international de l'Acad. Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, Classe de philologie, Classe d'histoire et de philosophie*, no. suppl. 2, 1936); A. Braun, *Il Lessico Ittita nei suoi Riflessi Indoeuropei* (*Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 95, 1935/6, 365-419).

<sup>89</sup> W. Petersen, *Language* 9 (1933) 12-34; A. Cuny, *RHA* 2 (1934) 199-220. Cf. however E. Benveniste, *Hitt. Festschrift* (1936) 227-40.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. particularly J. Kurylowicz, *Études Indo-Européennes* I (*Polska Akademia Umiejętności Prace Komisji Językowej* 21, 1935) 27-76, 253-5 and with intimate reference to Hittite W. Couvreur, *De Hettitische b* (*Bibl. du Muséon* 5, 1937); cf. also the same in *Philologische Studien, Teksten en Verhandelingen* 12 (1935) 5-43 and E. H. Sturtevant's review thereof in *Language* 12 (1936) 210-3.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. also F. Sommer's review in *OLZ* col. 513-6.

<sup>92</sup> A full bibliography is contained in I. J. Gelb's *Hittite Hieroglyphs I* (Oriental Institute Chicago, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 2, 1931) XVII-XX; II (*ibid.* 14, 1935) XV-XVIII. The following more recent publications have come to my knowledge; new inscriptions: *OIC* 19 (1935) 101 ff. (Hines near Bavian); *ILN* no. 5128 of July 31, 1937 (Sirkeli, Cilicia); papers: P. Meriggi, *OLZ* 1934, 736-8; *IF* 52 (1934) 45-51; *RHA* 15 (1934) 239-46; *Afo* 10 (1935) 113-33, 251-67; *RHA* 18 (1935) 45-51; *OLZ* 1936, 156-9; H. Th. Bossert, *OLZ* 1934, 145-50; *Afo* 10 (1935) 282-87; I. J. Gelb, *AJA* 41 (1937) 289-91; B. Hrozný, *Arch. Or.* 6 (1934) 399-407; 7 (1935) 6 f.; 133-90; 488-522; *IF* 53 (1935) 154 f.; *XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti* (1935) (5 unnumbered pages); *Arch. Or.* 8 (1936) 1-17; 171-209; 237-88; 9 (1937) 217-22; *Mélanges Linguistiques offerts à Mr Holger Pedersen* (1937) 500-4; H. G. Güterbock in Bittel and Güterbock *Boğazköy*, 62-83;



*MDOG* 74 (1936) 66-75; 75 (1937) 52-60; *AAA* 24 (1937) 66-8; B Hrozný, *Les Inscr. Hitt. Hieroglyph.* 3 (1937)

Furthermore the critical reviews of J. Friedrich *DLZ* 1933, 1114-22; *ZA NF* 8 (1934) 184-91; *DLZ* 1936, 1823-8 and the same author's article on Hittite seals in *Artibus Asiae* 6 (1937) 177-190, 315. Cf. also F. W. Freiherr von Bissing, *Handbuch der Archäologie* (1937) 158-60.

<sup>93</sup> *Monogr. Arch. Or.* 1. 3 (1937) cover

<sup>94</sup> *MDOG* 75 (1937) 54 fn 1

<sup>95</sup> P. Jensen, it is known, had denied the existence of any phonetic signs

<sup>96</sup> Cf. the signlists of P. Meriggi (*MVAeG* 39, 1, 1934, p. 3—after the correction of *ra* to *e* and possibly of *du* to *bu* according to *OLZ* 1936, 157 f —) of I. J. Gelb (*Hittite Hieroglyphs* II, 1935, frontispiece), and of B. Hrozný (*Les Inscriptions Hittites Hiéroglyphiques* 1, 1933, 101-16). During the print of this paper there appeared *Listes des Hiéroglyphes Hittites* by P. Meriggi (*RHA* 27 69-114, 29 157-200)

<sup>97</sup> This is the main result of Gelb's *Hittite Hieroglyphs* II (1935).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. particularly B. Hrozný's outline of a grammar in *Les Inscr. Hitt. Hiér.* 1 (1933) 77-98, in *Prager Rundschau* 3 (1933) 266-78, and in *XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti* (1935); furthermore E. H. Sturtevant, *Language* 9 (1933) 273-9.

<sup>99</sup> E. Forrer (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations* 3, 1932, 55) assigns it to the Tabaleans, his reasons are inconclusive.

## THE PRESENT STATE OF MESOPOTAMIAN STUDIES

THEOPHILE J. MEEK

University of Toronto

### MESOPOTAMIAN CHRONOLOGY

A great amount of material bearing on Mesopotamian chronology, both inscriptional and archaeological, has been recovered in recent years, but we are still far from having an exact system, particularly for the earlier periods. The dates before 3000 B. C. are largely guesses, supported only by cross-datings and cultural synchronisms with the West, particularly Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

The Sumerians themselves had carefully prepared dynastic lists covering both the pre-diluvian and post-diluvian periods,<sup>2</sup> but these do not always agree among themselves, either in the names of the kings or in the lengths of their reigns. Furthermore, there must be a considerable amount of overlapping in the dynasties and some of the kings must be mythical. The earliest dynasty to be attested by inscriptions is the First Dynasty of Ur,<sup>3</sup> which cannot be much earlier than 2700 B. C.

For much of the period after Sargon the Great we have date-lists,<sup>4</sup> and for Assyria the well-known limmu-lists,<sup>5</sup> new documents from Ashur,<sup>6</sup> and a tablet from Khorsabad, as yet unpublished, listing about one hundred kings from the 24th to the 8th century B. C.<sup>7</sup> The trouble with these lists is that they are incomplete and there is no single date before the 9th century that can as yet be fixed with certainty. Some years ago Kugler believed that he had astronomically determined the date of the sixth year of Ammizaduga,<sup>8</sup> but ten years later he decided on a different date,<sup>9</sup> and other astronomers, like Weidner<sup>10</sup>

and Fotheringham,<sup>11</sup> working on exactly the same data, have arrived at different results, no two of them agreeing. Weidner has continued his chronological researches in various articles and it is his system, or one approximating it, that is most generally followed today.<sup>12</sup> Expressed in round numbers, the following scheme is probably as nearly accurate as can at present be determined:

## SUMER AND AKKAD

1. Pre-dynastic Period, c. 5000–c. 3000 B. C.
2. Early Dynastic Period, c. 3000–c. 2550 B. C.
3. Old Akkadian Period, c. 2550–c. 2370 B. C.
4. Gutian Period, c. 2400–c. 2300 B. C.
5. Neo-Sumerian Period (Ur III), c. 2290–c. 2183 B. C.
6. Old Babylonian Period, c. 2050–c. 1750 B. C.
7. Sea-Land Dynasty, c. 1880–c. 1513 B. C.
8. Kassite Period, c. 1750–c. 1171 B. C.
9. Period of Babylonian Decline, c. 1171–c. 1100 B. C.
10. Assyrian Period, c. 1100–626 B. C.
11. Neo-Babylonian Period, 626–538 B. C.

## ASSYRIA

1. Assyrian Beginnings, c. 3000–c. 1850 B. C.
2. The Assyrian Kingdom, c. 1850–c. 1100 B. C.
3. The Assyrian Empire, c. 1100–626 B. C.
4. Decline and Fall of Assyria, 626–609 B. C.

## THE PRE-DYNASTIC PERIOD

Never in the whole history of Mesopotamian archaeology was there such activity in the field as during the ten years beginning shortly after the close of the Great War, now considerably restricted as a result of the strin-

gent regulations of the native Iraqi government that replaced the British Mandate in 1932. Numerous sites were excavated in every part of the country on a scale never attempted before and following a vastly more scientific technique, with careful attention given to stratification, pottery types, and the accurate recording of all finds<sup>13</sup>. The result has been the opening up of a whole vista of pre-history absolutely undreamed of a few years ago, which can now be divided into at least four periods, each with several phases of development. The periods are named after the sites where evidences of their culture were first clearly attested: Tell Halaf, al-Ubaid, Uruk, and Jemdet Nasr.

1. *The Tell Halaf Period.* Artifacts of Mousterian man have been discovered by Miss Garrod in caves near Sulaimaniya,<sup>14</sup> and some incised and monochrome burnished wares have been found on virgin soil at certain northern sites like Nineveh, Tepe Gawra, Arpachiya, Chagar Bazar, and Tell Halaf, which show affinities with the earliest wares of Sakje Gözü (as yet unpublished), Tell Judeideh,<sup>15</sup> and Ras Shamra,<sup>16</sup> and may be neolithic. However, the oldest culture so far definitely attested, the Tell Halaf,<sup>17</sup> is clearly chalcolithic. From various indications we know that metal was used, but not very extensively. At Tepe Gawra a hoard of fluted gold beads was discovered, secreted in a pot, the earliest examples of worked metal known and the first evidence of value being placed on gold. In this period great skill was shown in the working of obsidian into knives, scrapers, beads, vases, and bowls; and the usual array of seals (stamp seals only), amulets, pendants, and beads, together with terra-cotta figurines and the like, appear in the excavations, while playing pipes in bone were found at Tepe Gawra.

The pottery of the Tell Halaf period was made by

hand, unbelievably thin, and shows an extraordinary grasp of shape and decorative effect in color and design. The most characteristic shapes are shallow bowls decorated inside and out, deep bowls or craters with funnel-shaped necks, and bulging jars with relatively long necks. They were covered with a smooth cream or buff slip, on which were painted fine, elaborate designs usually in warm black and bright orange-red pigments, used both separately and conjointly. The pottery was fired at great heat in closed kilns that permitted indirect firing with controlled temperatures.<sup>18</sup> The result of the intense heat was the fusion and vitrification of the silicates in the paint, so that it became a genuine glaze that gave the surface a porcelain-like finish, quite different from the gloss of burnished ware so common later. Technically and artistically the Tell Halaf pottery is the finest hand-made ware of antiquity and bears witness to the high culture of its makers. The designs begin with naturalistic representations of animals, birds, and occasionally men,<sup>19</sup> and develop later into formally stylized patterns: geometric designs arranged in zones, with metopic composition within the zones. The patterns include chequers, lozenges, serial triangles, Maltese crosses, wheel patterns, scale patterns (intersecting circles and semicircles), stars, rosettes, double-axes, and bucrania (ox-heads seen full face).

In the very earliest period the Tell Halaf people apparently lived in huts, but a little later building foundations appear, at first of *terre pisée* (beaten clay), but later of bricks, often with the lower courses of stone. Some of these are rectangular; but many are circular and were apparently domed, with long covered approaches or vestibules. They have their nearest parallel in the well-known beehive tombs or "tholoi" in Mycenae and Crete, the circular building of Khirokitia in Cyprus,<sup>20</sup> and the circular structures belonging to the neolithic level of Jeri-

cho.<sup>21</sup> These analogues with the West, together with others like the double-axe and bucranium designs in the pottery, point to North Syria as the home of the Tell Halaf culture, one of the three great cultural provinces affecting Mesopotamia, but confined in its influence wholly to the north. At all northern sites, like Tepe Gawra, Nineveh, Arpachiyah, and Chagar Bazar,<sup>22</sup> evidences of this culture are numerous and run through several strata, but nothing at all appears further south, the few Tell Halaf sherds found at Samarra being clearly importations.<sup>23</sup>

2. *The al-Ubaid Period.* The second great cultural province affecting Mesopotamia was the Iranian Highland. Its culture seems to have come down from the north, spreading eastward as far as Baluchistan and the Indus Valley<sup>24</sup> and westward through the whole of Mesopotamia, showing its first evidences at Samarra<sup>25</sup> and points further north and a little later in the south, particularly at al-Ubaid, by which name the culture is known in Mesopotamia. This highland culture was first known from the French excavations at Susa,<sup>26</sup> where Susa Ia seems to stand in a parental relationship to Samarra and al-Ubaid, Susa Ib being the counterpart of the latter. That the Samarra ware is somewhat earlier than the al-Ubaid is shown by the fact that it appears along with the Tell Halaf pottery at Chagar Bazar while the al-Ubaid appears later. The Iranian Highland culture was apparently more or less contemporaneous with the North Syrian, but the latter may have been a bit earlier. In any case northern Mesopotamia was settled considerably earlier than the south, which is wholly alluvial soil. In paleolithic times the head of the Persian Gulf extended to a point some distance north of modern Baghdad and it was only in al-Ubaid times that the marshes were sufficiently dried up and drained to permit settlement in the south. The ear-

liest habitations consisted of reed huts plastered with mud, the walls being composed of projecting reed-bundles and recessed panels of reed-matting alternating with each other, the whole drawn together at the top to make the roof arched or vaulted. Thus originated the buttressed wall with shallow recesses, along with the vault and arch, that are so characteristic of later Sumerian architecture. Quite early in the period (Uruk XVI, the third stratum from the bottom) mud-brick makes its appearance, but there are no structures in the south to compare with those of even earlier date in the north, at Tepe Gawra, for example, where a temple complex of imposing size and grandeur has been unearthed.<sup>27</sup>

The al-Ubaid pottery is painted as is the Tell Halaf, but it is quite different from it and represents an entirely different culture. It is a very fine, pale greenish ware, hand-made or turned on a slow wheel, with walls often very thin and well fired. The characteristic shapes are tumblers, shallow dishes, chalices, squat pots with lugs on the shoulders, and a predominance of spouted jars so characteristic of later Sumerian ceramics. The designs are mostly in a free geometric style, painted with a soft brush in black or dark brown, usually lustrous but sometimes matt.

The men dressed in sheepskin garments apparently; they wore long beards, with the upper lip shaved and the hair tied back in a bun. They used boats with high prows and sterns, like the modern bellums. They tilled the earth with hoes of flaked chert and reaped their grain with sickles of clay or wood, set with serrated flakes of flint. They brought bitumen from Hit and imported obsidian from Armenia and copper from Elam. They hunted their prey with pear-shaped stone maces and invented the shaft-hole axe, both typically Sumerian. In fact the germs of so many of the distinctive features of Sumerian culture

are found in this early period that Frankfort would seem to be right in making the al-Ubaid people the original stock out of which the Sumerians in course of time developed.<sup>28</sup>

It was between al-Ubaid I and II at Ur that the so-called Flood level was encountered, widely heralded as evidence for the historicity of the Flood Story.<sup>29</sup> However, this flood level was not discovered in other parts of Ur nor in the neighboring mounds of al-Ubaid and Uruk. Hence the particular flood in question covered only the lowlands and when it subsided the al-Ubaid people returned and rebuilt their houses on the silt. At Kish<sup>30</sup> and also at Shuruppak<sup>31</sup> there are evidences of a flood, or at any rate of a pluvial period,<sup>32</sup> at the end of the Jemdet Nasr strata, but again there is no evidence that these floods were anything more than local inundations continuing for a longer time than usual.

3. *The Uruk Period.* The third cultural province that brought its influence to bear on Mesopotamia was the Anatolian-Transcaucasian province, the home apparently of the Uruk culture. The pottery of this period consists of a grey ware covered with a highly polished slip, made very black by firing with dampish fuels and a smoky fire; a second, somewhat later ware, brick-red in color, but plum-red in the higher strata, made from ferruginous clay, covered with a slip rich in iron oxides, thus accounting for the color; and a third ware like the second but fired in a reducing temperature so as to produce a grey color. Unlike the al-Ubaid this ware was never painted; it was made with a slip, highly polished, and most of it was made on a genuine spinning wheel, but the al-Ubaid survives more or less throughout the period, showing that the Uruk people constituted a minority in the population.

Another characteristic of the Uruk period was the use of the ziggurat, which ever afterwards marked the Sume-



rian temple. The earliest of these was built of crudely made mud-bricks with battered and buttressed sides, decorated and strengthened with pottery beakers set in rows. On top was the so-called White Temple, oriented with its corners to the points of the compass, as was the regular custom later with sacred buildings. In the White Temple was found a tablet of gypsum, inscribed with figures and bearing the impression of a cylinder seal, the first of its kind known and universally regarded as a Sumerian invention. Here we have a symbol of the earliest recognition of the principles of property and personality and the beginning of writing. This early temple-mount was later encased in a larger ziggurat, surmounted by the Limestone Temple, so called because it had a foundation of undressed limestone blocks. This in turn was succeeded by the Red Temple, an imposing complex of buildings, with brick columns, half columns, and buttresses, gorgeously decorated with colored cones stuck in the walls to make mosaic patterns in red, white, and black. In this temple tablets were discovered, inscribed in a crude pictographic script, the earliest written language known.<sup>33</sup> The signs have word values only and not syllabic, both the sexigesimal and decimal systems of reckoning are used, and the language seems quite definitely to be Sumerian.<sup>34</sup> The seals in the latter part of the period show a finer technique and on one is the unmistakable representation of a chariot. The men dressed very much as they did in the previous period, but some are represented with shaved heads and faces, an indication apparently of priestly status.

4. *The Jemdet Nasr Period.* The fourth period in early Mesopotamian history, the Jemdet Nasr, was one of increased wealth, improved means of communication, regularized trade, the more abundant use of metal, and the first use of bronze. Metal, however, was still not very

plentiful and the earlier flint, obsidian, and stone utensils continued to be made. True wheat had now been produced and six-rowed barley. The script developed into the semi-pictographic and the signs took on phonetic as well as word values, with the language definitely Sumerian.<sup>35</sup> From Ur in this period comes the first sculpture in the round, a wild boar carved in steatite;<sup>36</sup> from Khafaje a statuette of a woman, the earliest stone sculpture representing a human being;<sup>37</sup> and from Uruk a magnificent vase some five feet high, ornamented with sculptured reliefs in three registers.<sup>38</sup>

The characteristic pottery is once again a painted ware, in black and yellow on a deep red ground, often applied directly on the natural clay, but sometimes on a heavy white slip. A wide band of ornament is usually arranged in metopes around the shoulder of the pot, consisting of chequers, triangles, lozenges, double-axes, and cross-hatching. Some examples from Khafaje are painted in several registers, showing human figures in various scenes. The typical shapes are spouted jars, lugged jars with flattened rims, strap-handled bowls, plain jars, and beakers.<sup>39</sup> However, the commonest ware throughout the period was the pale drab pottery native to Sumer, once again showing that the new ware was due to a minority group, probably the Martu (Amurru) migrants from the West. It has points of contact with the Tell Halaf ware and like it would seem to have its home in North Syria.<sup>40</sup> Shurupak (modern Fara), Eshnunna (modern Tell Asmar), and Kish were all founded in the Jemdet Nasr period and the latter was reckoned by the Sumerians themselves as the first of their dynasties, all of which suggests that the Sumerians were overrunning and conquering Akkad at this time and were being organized as a political entity.

## THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

With the Early Dynastic age we pass from pre-history to history, but it is only for the second half of the period that we have actual historical texts, the earliest of these belonging to the First Dynasty of Ur, as already noted. On the basis of the finds at Tell Asmar, Khafaje (ancient Akshak?), and elsewhere, the period can be divided into three phases, early, middle, and late.<sup>41</sup> To the first of these belong Cemetery Y at Kish, the Later Cemetery at al-Ubaid, the tablets and seal impressions from S. I. S. IV-V at Ur,<sup>42</sup> part of Stratum I in P XIII at Uruk, Archaic Shrines I-IV at Tell Asmar, and Nineveh V with Gawra VI in the north. To the second phase belong most of the seal impressions from Fara and the Square Temple at Tell Asmar, with its remarkable hoard of statues,<sup>43</sup> wrongly assigned to the Jemdet Nasr period by Woolley.<sup>44</sup> To the last phase, Early Dynastic III, belong the Single Shrine Temple at Tell Asmar, the Ishtar Temple at Mari,<sup>45</sup> the palace of Mound A at Kish, the Fara texts,<sup>46</sup> and Ashur H/G, to be followed successively by the First Dynasty of Ur, with its so-called Royal Cemetery,<sup>47</sup> the dynasty of Ur-Nanshe (formerly transcribed Ur-Nina) at Lagash, and Cemetery A at Kish. The culture of the period would seem to have reached its climax c. 2700 B. C., as reflected in the truly wonderful finds of the "Royal Cemetery" at Ur, which Frankfort,<sup>48</sup> Müller,<sup>49</sup> and others have shown cannot possibly be assigned to the early date claimed for it by Woolley, its discoverer.<sup>50</sup> That the culture was a homogeneous one, which spread all over the country and even into Elam,<sup>51</sup> is indicated by the similar, often identical finds from the different sites.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, the plano-convex bricks, which mark this period at all sites in the south, do not appear at all at Mari nor at any other site north of Khafaje.<sup>53</sup> This would indicate that the people who introduced this kind

of brick into the south did not spread into the west and north. They were an intrusive group, eventually absorbed, and were not responsible for the general culture of the period. Just why their brick should have replaced the older and more practical flat-sided brick and continued so long in use<sup>54</sup> still remains a mystery despite the efforts of Delougaz and Müller to solve it.<sup>55</sup>

In the Early Dynastic period Sumer and Akkad were united into a single nation and brought the north more completely within their orb of influence, but differences between the two regions were still to be found. The zig-gurat made its way very slowly into the north and, as Andrae was the first to notice,<sup>56</sup> the temples of Sumer proper differ from those in the north in another respect. In the southern type of temple the entrance was upon the main axis of the building, with the shrine at the end, beyond a succession of courts or antechambers; in the northern type the shrine unit was a long rectangular room, with the altar at one end and the entrance upon the cross-axis at the other.<sup>57</sup> The buildings were elaborately decorated and furnished, as befitting the times. The true arch was used and likewise the dome, while another mark of advancing culture was the fact that the Sumerians had now a fully developed language, written in cuneiform script, a conventionalization of the older pictographs.

Metal of all kinds was much more abundant and was beautifully worked, best represented by the remarkable finds at Ur, with gold objects as fine in technique and design as the goldsmith's art anywhere or at any time could make them.<sup>58</sup> The smiths could braze and solder, and hence could make filigree work. The closed mold was known and likewise the *cire perdue* method of molding, one of the earliest examples being a magnificent group of three copper statuettes from Khafaje.<sup>59</sup> Even glass and iron appear sporadically.<sup>60</sup>

As is to be expected, less attention was given to pottery. In this period it is characterized by a reserved slip, i. e., the pot was covered with a fine slip and then this was partly wiped away, usually in parallel stripes. Sculpture in the round was still rather crude, but much taste and skill are shown in the many examples of bas-relief. Other crafts characteristic of the period are the inlaying of figures cut from shell or mother-of-pearl and the extensive manufacture of seals, exquisitely cut in every material from shell to lapis lazuli.

#### THE OLD AKKADIAN PERIOD

The rise of Sargon to power and his conquest of Lugal-zaggisi mark the beginning of a new epoch, the political ascendancy of the Semitic Akkadians. However, this is not the first appearance of Semites in Mesopotamian history. The later kings of the Dynasty of Akshak, as recorded by the king-lists, and all the kings of the Fourth Dynasty of Kish bear Semitic names, while the recent excavations at Mari show a line of Semitic kings established there as early apparently as 2750 B. C., some 200 years before Sargon.<sup>61</sup> It was not until the time of Sargon, however, that the Semites came into their own. His kingdom included not only the whole of Mesopotamia, but extended westward to the Mediterranean and eastward into Elam.<sup>62</sup> Its prosperity is shown by the business documents of the time, of which the largest collection and most recently recovered comes from Gasur (later Nuzi).<sup>63</sup> Trading colonies were established in Cappadocia, while recent finds in Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley show extensive relations with far-away India.<sup>64</sup>

The culture of the time is reflected in such works of art as the famous victory stela of Naram-Sin, to which can now be added the magnificent bronze head recently

discovered at Nineveh.<sup>65</sup> The cylinder seals are particularly fine, being marked by the excellence of their cutting and design and the miniature technique of their carving, usually depicting religious and mythological scenes.<sup>66</sup> One of the latter is of great interest because it shows the slaying of a seven-headed monster, which must be the prototype of the slaying of the Hydra by Hercules.<sup>67</sup> The finding of a complete service set in bronze at Tell Asmar<sup>68</sup> would seem to indicate that the ancient Akkadians even used utensils corresponding to our knives, forks, and spoons. An evidence of the virility of their culture is the fact that their language largely replaced the immemorial Sumerian in the inscriptions of the day and these are universally written in a beautifully executed script, even in the case of the most ordinary documents.

#### THE GUTIAN AND UR III PERIODS

Concerning the Gutians we still have very little exact information. They seem to have been a Caucasian people allied to or coming from the same parent stock as the Elamites, Proto-Hattians, Lullubi, Hurrians, and Kassites. It was in the later years of their declining power that the Sumerian, Gudea,<sup>69</sup> seems to have ruled as governor at Lagash,<sup>70</sup> preparing the way by his brilliant achievements for the great revival of Sumerian power that came in the Ur III dynasty. Of all periods this probably was the most prosperous in the whole history of Mesopotamia. In no period are business records so abundant and the excavations at Ur itself show the city at the height of its power and glory,<sup>71</sup> with its kings revered and worshipped as gods in temples of their own.<sup>72</sup> The dynasty represents the return of the Sumerians to power, with Sumerian once again the official language, but the personal names of the time show the Semites playing an ever increasing and

more important role in the state, until even the kings themselves came to take on Semitic names.<sup>73</sup> The personal names also show the first appearance of Hurrian migrants into the country. Toward the end of the dynasty Amorites invaded the land from the west and Elamites from the east, and between the two Sumerian political power was finally snuffed out, never again to be revived.

#### THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

With the decline and fall of Ur the country fell into a state of savage warfare among the several city-states, the intricacies of which are not easy to follow. The various date-formulae of the time<sup>74</sup> help us somewhat in ascertaining the order of events and new light has come from the excavations at Tell Asmar (ancient Eshnunna) and Tell Hariri (ancient Mari). We now have the names of a considerable line of rulers at Eshnunna covering a period of more than 300 years down to the 31st year of Hammurabi, when he conquered Eshnunna,<sup>75</sup> and from Mari have come the names of a line of rulers ending with Zimri-Lim, whom Hammurabi conquered in his 33rd year.<sup>76</sup> Only a few of the tablets from Mari have been published. There remain thousands of others, many of them letters from the time of Hammurabi addressed to Zimri-Lim from all parts of Mesopotamia. The letter already published by Thureau-Dangin<sup>77</sup> shows how very important these are.

Mari was an Amorite state, and it was Ishbi-Irra from Mari who founded the Isin dynasty, which gradually replaced the Ur III dynasty. A formidable rival and ultimate conqueror was the dynasty of Larsa, like Eshnunna closely leagued with the Elamites; but more formidable than it and eventually the conqueror of all was the great Hammurabi of Babylon.<sup>78</sup>

The Old Babylonian period has not left much in the way of great material remains; it is noted rather for its intense literary activity, much of it editorial. Hammurabi's famous code of laws<sup>79</sup> has long been known and thousands of letters<sup>80</sup> bear witness to the literacy of a considerable portion of the population, as do the hundreds of school-texts. Books of omens were collected and illustrated from history,<sup>80a</sup> and the scribes even undertook the writing of history itself, of which the king-lists are a digest. Myths like the Creation and Flood stories were re-edited;<sup>81</sup> hymns and prayers were collated, the pantheon organized, and the religion systematized, the whole being given a Sumerian complexion, because after all Babylonian culture had its roots in the old and was much more Sumerian than Semitic. Sumerian was no longer a spoken language, but it continued to be used in religion and for its elucidation grammars and lexicons were prepared.

The period is noteworthy too for its scientific attainments. Knowledge of the heavens gained from astrology was being used for practical purposes, but did not develop into astronomy until much later. The day was divided into twelve double-hours, with sundials used to measure the daylight and waterclocks the night. Treatises were prepared on medicine that involved a remarkable acquaintance with chemistry,<sup>82</sup> even though motivated by superstition. Along with the knowledge of the flora went a knowledge of the fauna,<sup>83</sup> and also of the rocks and stones of the country.<sup>84</sup> But it was in the realm of mathematics that the Babylonians made the most remarkable advance.<sup>85</sup> Like the Egyptians the early Sumerians used the additive method to multiply and divide, but before 2000 B. C. the Babylonians had evolved multiplication tables and also tables of reciprocals, of squares, cubes, and other powers, of square roots, cube roots, and the



like Also by 2000 B. C. they had attained a complete mastery of fractional quantities and had developed a very exact terminology in mathematics. The correct geometrical formula for calculating the area of a rectangle was known to the Sumerians before 3000 B. C. and in the years that followed came the knowledge of how to find the area of triangles, circles, irregular quadrangles and polygons, truncated pyramids, cones, and the like, but in most instances the results were only approximately correct because of a defective technique, like giving  $\pi$  the value 3. By 2000 B. C. the theorem attributed to Pythagoras was familiar to the Babylonians,<sup>86</sup> and they could solve problems involving equations of the first, second, third, and fourth degrees, as well as sets of equations with two, three, and four unknowns.

#### THE KASSITE PERIOD AND AFTER

The decadence that followed the death of Hammurabi c. 1913 B. C. saw the extensive migration of Hurrians into the north, the secession of the Sea-Land Dynasty in the south c. 1880 B. C.,<sup>87</sup> the sack of Babylon by a raiding troop of Hittites, and finally the conquest of southern Mesopotamia by the Kassites, beginning c. 1750 B. C. The long years of Kassite domination still remain pretty much a blank.<sup>88</sup> In fact nothing particularly new regarding Mesopotamia has come to light in recent years until we get into the Neo-Babylonian period. The German finds at Babylon add considerably to our knowledge of this period<sup>89</sup> and the researches of Dougherty have shed welcome light on the end of the period.<sup>90</sup> We know now that Nabonidus spent a large part of his reign at distant Tema (modern Taima) in North Arabia, leaving the home government meanwhile in the hands of his son, Belshazzar.

By the time of the Neo-Babylonians astrology had defi-

nately developed into astronomy, represented in the later period by such men of science as Nabu-rimanni, c. 425 B. C., and Kidinnu, c. 300 B. C. In the latter's "Canon of Eclipses" there is actually a more accurate value for the motion of the Sun from the Node than the one used in our standard modern Canon, that of Oppolzer. As early apparently as Nabu-nasir, c. 747 B. C., the Babylonians began to use the nineteen-year cycle for the intercalary month, which was later adopted by the Jews and is still used by them. Elaborate calculations were made of the movements of the sun and moon, and tables were prepared of the planets in their orbits, with exact calendars for extensive periods of their helical risings and settings.<sup>91</sup> In short, it was the Babylonians who laid the foundations of the science of astronomy and passed it on to the Greeks.<sup>92</sup>

For the Persian, Seleucid, and Parthian periods new light has come from sites like Uruk and Ur, but more particularly from Kish<sup>93</sup> and Tell Umar.<sup>94</sup> A study of clay bullae and seals dating from Seleucid times has been presented by Rostovtzeff in an article entitled "Seleucid Babylonia."<sup>95</sup>

#### ASSYRIAN BEGINNINGS

As we have already noted, the earliest culture of Mesopotamia, the Tell Halaf, was found in the extreme north alone, but the al-Ubaid was partly contemporaneous with this and thereafter Assyria went through pretty much the same periods as did Sumer and Akkad, except that it was not largely affected by the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr cultures and naturally was open to influences in the north that did not reach as far south as Sumer and Akkad. For example, the so-called Billa or Nineveh V ware (some incised and some painted), common in the north from c. 3200 to c. 2700 B. C., does not appear in the south at all, while the burnished grey ware and the plain buff ware

of Nineveh III, belonging to the time of the Uruk culture, have few analogues even in the north.

The origin of the Assyrians themselves is still wrapped in mystery. They were unquestionably an amalgam of many stocks, but one that came ultimately to take on a Semitic complexion. The earliest references to the city of Ashur are found in the Old Akkadian texts from Nuzi and the Assyrian there mentioned bears a Semitic name.<sup>96</sup> Also the earliest known Assyrian inscriptions (from c. 2300 B. C. and later) are written in Semitic (Old Assyrian). These are royal inscriptions discovered at Ashur and have added considerably to our knowledge of early Assyria.<sup>97</sup>

It was in the Old Akkadian period, apparently in the time of Sargon, that Assyrian trading colonies were established in Cappadocia, and from their descendants in the 20th century have come thousands of business documents.<sup>98</sup> It is recognized now that these are written in Old Assyrian, but they follow a script and syllabary peculiar to themselves. A few tablets identical with them have been uncovered outside Cappadocia at Nuzi, the only tablets of their kind so far published.<sup>99</sup> The colonists were attracted to Cappadocia among other things by the silver mined in Cilicia and this now rapidly displaced grain as a medium of exchange. Bars and even round pieces of the metal were stamped with their weight and these spread all over the Near East as money. With the Cappadocians also arose the idea of credit, because some of the tablets state that they represent a specified number of shekels of silver and so are the earliest known form of cheque or draft.

#### THE ASSYRIAN KINGDOM

Assyria did not come into its own until the decline of the Old Babylonian dynasty, stimulated perhaps by an

extensive migration of Hurrians into the country. Until recently these people were practically unknown, but thanks particularly to the excavations at Nuzi<sup>100</sup> we now know a great deal about them.<sup>101</sup> Here they settled in such numbers that they replaced the ancient Sumerian name of the city, Gasur, by one of their own, Nuzi, or more correctly for the nominative Nuzu. Although they were a non-Semitic people who came down from the Caucasian highlands apparently and settled in Assyria, they wrote their texts in a dialect of Babylonian. These have been found in thousands<sup>102</sup> and throw important light not only on their time (the 15th century and early 14th), but on the origin of the Hebrews as well, with whom they were closely associated.<sup>103</sup>

Another important find bearing on the Middle Assyrian period is the collection of Assyrian laws discovered in the excavations at Ashur. These were published by Schroeder in 1920 and have recently been treated most exhaustively by Driver and Miles.<sup>104</sup> The laws show certain points of contact with the Hammurabi Code, but also points of difference, so that they are distinctly Assyrian. Some of the laws are seen in practice in the Middle Assyrian business documents edited by Ebeling in the *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, VII, Heft 1/2 (1933).

#### THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

The most important single contribution for the understanding of this period is Waterman's complete edition of the corpus of royal Assyrian letters in four large volumes,<sup>105</sup> some of the material of which was used previous to publication by Olmstead in his *History of Assyria* (1923). We have already noted the light shed on ancient Assyria by the most recent excavations at Nineveh. The earlier excavations under the same direction have contributed some important inscriptions of Esarhaddon and

Ashurbanipal,<sup>106</sup> together with information of a more general character;<sup>107</sup> while the expedition of the University of Chicago at Khorsabad has supplemented considerably our knowledge of Sargon's capital and its vicinity.<sup>108</sup> A new edition of Sargon's inscriptions by Lie appeared a few years ago,<sup>109</sup> and more recently new editions of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions have been prepared by two scholars quite independently of each other.<sup>110</sup> For the very end of the Assyrian Empire we have had for some time now a very important text which shows that Ashur fell to the Babylonians and Medes in 614, Nineveh in 612, and the last remnant of the Assyrian army at Harran in 609 B. C.,<sup>111</sup> leaving little more than the great Assyrian works of art by which to be remembered.<sup>111a</sup>

#### MESOPOTAMIAN LITERATURES AND LANGUAGES

In addition to the publications of cuneiform texts already noted a goodly number of others have appeared from time to time. The British Museum,<sup>112</sup> the University of Pennsylvania Museum,<sup>113</sup> Yale University,<sup>114</sup> and the Berlin Museum<sup>115</sup> have not been publishing at their usual rate, but the Louvre continues its steady production<sup>116</sup> and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has also been quite prolific.<sup>117</sup> The excavations at Nuzi, Uruk, Kish, Ur, Nineveh, and elsewhere have provided a number of volumes already noted,<sup>118</sup> while Jena University has begun the publication of the Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities under the editorship of J. Lewy.<sup>119</sup> Smaller groups of texts, too numerous to mention, have appeared in the various journals.

In the treatment of cuneiform languages less has been done than in any other field. A most urgent need at the present time is a historical grammar of the Akkadian language and a comparative study of the different dialects represented in the cuneiform documents. Besides

Old Akkadian there are four stages in the development of Babylonian (Old, Middle, New, and Late) and three in Assyrian (Old, Middle, and New), but the only grammar that takes this into account, and that only slightly, is the second edition of Ungnad's brief *Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik*, published as long ago as 1926.<sup>120</sup> The hymn and epic dialect has been well treated by von Soden,<sup>121</sup> and some attention has been given to the foreign dialects by other scholars: West Semitic by Bauer,<sup>122</sup> the Boghaz-köi dialect by Labat,<sup>123</sup> and the Nuzi Akkadian by Kramer<sup>124</sup> and Berkooz.<sup>125</sup> The latter dialect is shown to have some things in common with the Tell el-Amarna and Boghaz-köi dialects, while Oppenheim<sup>126</sup> and Speiser<sup>127</sup> have independently shown that its peculiarities are due to a linguistic substratum, which the latter would identify as Hurrian and the former as related to Elamite but non-Hurrian.

Since the Assyrian Dictionary projected by the University of Chicago is still far from complete, we have no adequate lexicon of Akkadian. The nearest approach is Bezold's *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* (1926), supplemented in part by Meissner's *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch*, I and II (1931-32) and his *Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie*, I-III (*MAOG*, I, 2; III, 3; XI, 1/2), together with Weir's *Lexicon of Akkadian Prayers in the Rituals of Expiation* (1934). Utilizing this and other material, along with his own from his Sumerian lexicon, Deimel has compiled and just published an *Akkadisch-Sumerisches Glossar* (1937).

In the Sumerian field we are little better equipped. There is urgent need here too of a historical grammar of the language. Deimel's *Sumerische Grammatik* (1924)<sup>128</sup> is concerned only with Old Sumerian, but from time to time Poebel and his students have been contributing articles<sup>129</sup> to supplement his *Grundzüge der sumerischen*

*Grammatik* (1923). A very usable primer is Gadd's *Sumerian Reading-Book* (1924). In Sumerian lexicography we are better equipped, having Howardy's *Clavis Cuneorum* (completed in 1933) and Deimel's monumental *Sumerisches Lexikon* (completed in 1934), with a new publication, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon*, inaugurated by Landsberger in a volume entitled *Die Serie 'ana ittišu'* (1937).

In the transliteration of cuneiform there is still considerable confusion, but scholars are more and more following the system introduced by Thureau-Dangin,<sup>130</sup> and this bids fair to become universal. The recent death of Langdon removes the one scholar of influence who would have nothing to do with it.

#### GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Besides the more technical books already mentioned, the following are added for more general reference. The first three are exceptionally good. Reports on discoveries are made regularly in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (since April, 1934), and the *Archiv für Orientalforschung*, and the latter also runs exhaustive bibliographies in every number. There is no good history of Mesopotamia that is at all up-to-date and no good modern treatment of the religion.

Recent excavations have unearthed a tremendous amount of material illustrating ancient Mesopotamian art in all its departments, pottery, sculpture, painting, craft-work, and architecture. Most of this is discussed incidentally in many of the books already quoted, but there are also works bearing on art alone, and these are included here.

Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (1935).

Childe, *Man Makes Himself* (1936).

- Lloyd, *Mesopotamia: Excavations on Sumerian Sites* (1936).  
 Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur* (1929).  
 Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (1936).  
 Woolley, *The Sumerians* (1928).  
 Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art* (1935).  
 Moortgat, "Frühe Bildkunst in Sumer," *MVAeG*, XL, 3.  
 Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (2 vols., 1925).  
 Meissner, *Die Babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* (1928).  
 Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins* (1934).  
 Ebeling and Meissner, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (only I and part of II completed).  
 S. H. Smith, *Babylonian Art* (1928).  
 Legrain, *Terra-cottas from Nippur* (1930).  
 Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals* (2 vols., 1935).  
 von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of E. T. Newell* (1934).  
 von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Brett* (1936).  
 van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* (1930).  
 van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with the Streams* (1933).  
 Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* (3 vols., 1927-31).  
 Contenau, *Civilization d'Assur et de Babylone* (1937).  
 Zervos, *L'Art de la Mésopotamie* (1935).  
 Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im Alten Orient* (1930).  
 Witzel, *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, I-VII (1918-30).

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For some of these see Scharff, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, LXXI, 89-106.

<sup>2</sup> For a recently discovered list from Kish see Langdon, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, II (1923); for still more recent ones from Susa see Scheil, *RA*, XXXI, 149 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Hall and Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, I: *Al-Ubaid*, Pls. XXXV, XL; Gadd, *BMQ*, IV, 107 f.; *JRAS*, 1928, pp. 626 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The most recent treatment of these is by Ungnad in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 131-195.



<sup>5</sup> Presently to be supplemented by a few limmus from texts of the Middle Assyrian period discovered at Tell Billa (ancient Shibaniba); see Speiser, *BASOR*, No. 49, pp. 14 f.

<sup>6</sup> Treated, e. g., by Weidner in *MVAeG*, XXVI, No. 2; *AfO*, III, 65 ff.; IV, 11 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Noted in *AfO*, VIII, 328.

<sup>8</sup> See his *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II (1912), 257 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See his *Von Moses bis Paulus* (1922), pp. 497 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See, e. g., *MVAeG*, XX, No. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga* (1928).

<sup>12</sup> See, e. g., Smith, *Early History of Assyria* (1928), pp. 26 ff., 343 ff.

<sup>13</sup> See, e. g., Badè, *A Manual of Excavation in the Near East* (1934); Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *La technique des fouilles archéologiques* (1934).

<sup>14</sup> See *Bulletin of the American School of Prehistoric Research*, No. 6.

<sup>15</sup> See McEwan, *AJA*, XLI, 9 ff.

<sup>16</sup> See Schaeffer, *Syria*, XVI, 165 ff.

<sup>17</sup> See von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf* (1931); also published in an English translation.

<sup>18</sup> Such kilns were actually discovered *in situ* at Tepe Gawra; see Speiser's work reported in *New York Times*, May 11, 1937.

<sup>19</sup> On a vase from Tell Halaf is what looks like the representation of a man and a chariot, the earliest known, best illustrated in Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, Pl. XXV, facing p. 256.

<sup>20</sup> See Dikaios, *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 26, 1936, pp. 1171 ff.

<sup>21</sup> See Garstang, *AAA*, XXII, 166 ff.

<sup>22</sup> See the excavation reports by Speiser, *BASOR*, Nos. 65 and 66 (Gawra); Mallowan, *AAA*, XX, 127 ff. (Nineveh); Mallowan and Rose, *Iraq*, II, 1 ff. (Arpachiya); Mallowan, *ibid*, III, 1 ff. (Chagar Bazar). For a comparative study of the pottery designs and motifs see Dussaud, *Syria*, XVI, 375 ff. For the earlier excavations at Tepe Gawra see now Speiser, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, I (1935).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Mallowan, *Iraq*, III, 3 f.

<sup>24</sup> Revealed by the archaeological surveys of Sir Aurel Stein, see, e. g., *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Nos. 37 and 43; *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LXIV, 179 ff.; *Iraq*, III, 111 ff. See also Marshall and Mackay, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (3 vols., 1931); summarized in Mackay, *The Indus Civilization* (1935).

<sup>25</sup> Excavations reported by Herzfeld, *Ausgrabungen von Samarra* (1930).

<sup>26</sup> Excavations in the several volumes of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*. The most recent and most accurate stratification of the mound is found in vol. XX by de Mecquenem; cf. also his article in *Antiquity*, V, 330 ff.

<sup>27</sup> See Speiser, *BASOR*, No. 66, pp. 2 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See his *Archaeology and the Sumerian Question* (1932). For a contrary opinion see Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* (1930), *AJA*, XXXVII, 459 ff. Speiser is uncertain when to date the Sumerian migration, but he

would make it considerably later than the al-Ubaid period. However, if scholars are correct in their contention that the early Uruk tablets are written in Sumerian (see Note 34 below), that would prove the presence of Sumerians in the Uruk period. Speiser connects the Sumerians too closely with the introduction of the plano-convex bricks. As noted below in the discussion of the Early Dynastic period, the two evidently do not belong together at all. Cf. also Albright's criticism of Speiser's position, *JAOS*, LI, 61 ff.

<sup>29</sup> See, e.g., Marston, *The Bible is True* (1935), pp. 67 ff.

<sup>30</sup> See Watelin, *Excavations at Kish*, IV, 40 ff.

<sup>31</sup> See Schmidt, *Museum Journal*, XXII, 200 ff.

<sup>32</sup> The laying down of alternate layers of viscous mud and riverine sand to a thickness of some 8 feet between Nineveh II and III would indicate a succession of such periods at Nineveh at the end of the al-Ubaid period; see Mallowan, *AAA*, XX, 134 f., Pl. LXXIII.

<sup>33</sup> The tablets have been edited by Falkenstein, *Die archaische Texte aus Uruk* (1936). The lesser finds have been published by Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* (1936), while the field reports of the Uruk Expedition have appeared regularly in the *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Phil.-Hist. Klasse*; summarized up to 1935 by Andrae in *Antiquity*, X, 133 ff.

<sup>34</sup> This is the opinion of Falkenstein himself and is supported by Deimel in his review, *Orientalia, Nova Series*, VI, 268 ff. In fact Assyriologists in general seem to be of this view, e.g., those connected with the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

<sup>35</sup> The first and largest collection of these tablets was edited by Langdon, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Tablets*, VII (1928).

<sup>36</sup> See Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, X, Pl. XLIIb. Cf. also the sculptured figurines in Heinrich, *op. cit.*, Pls. 4-8.

<sup>37</sup> See Frankfort, *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 26, 1936, pp. 524, 526.

<sup>38</sup> See Heinrich, *op. cit.*, Pls. 2, 3, 38.

<sup>39</sup> For more details regarding the pottery see Mackay, *Field Museum of Natural History: Anthropology, Memoirs*, I, No. 3; Harden, *Iraq*, I, 30 ff.; Field and Martin, *AJA*, XXXIX, 310 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art*, pp. 52 ff., would have it originate in North Elam, making it akin to the al-Ubaid ware, but this is most questionable.

<sup>41</sup> See Frankfort, *Oriental Institute Communications* (henceforth abbreviated *OIC*), No. 20, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Published by Burrows, *Ur: Archaic Texts* (1935), and Legrain, *Ur: Archaic Seal-Impressions* (1936).

<sup>43</sup> See Frankfort, *OIC*, No. 19, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>44</sup> *The Development of Sumerian Art*, p. 60.

<sup>45</sup> Most recently described by Parrot, *Mari: une ville perdue* (1936), pp. 75 ff.

<sup>46</sup> The most recently discovered of these were edited by Kramer in *JAOS*, LII, 110 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Described but wrongly dated by Woolley in his monumental *Ur Excavations, II: The Royal Cemetery*. It is questionable whether the tombs belong to royal persons; they may be fertility cult tombs; see Smith, *JRAS*, 1928, pp. 849 ff.; Bohl, *ZA*, XXXIX, 83 ff.; Frankfort, *JRAS*, 1937, pp. 341 ff.

<sup>48</sup> *JRAS*, 1937, pp. 330 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *JAOS*, LV, 204 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Op cit*, pp. 208 ff.

<sup>51</sup> This is revealed, e.g., by the stratum known as Susa II and by the substitution of the Sumerian cuneiform for the native linear script

<sup>52</sup> See, e.g., Frankfort and Parrot, *RA*, XXXI, 173-189.

<sup>53</sup> A few bricks roughly shaped as plano-convex are reported from Stratum TT 1-2 at Arpachiya (*Iraq*, II, 16) and one from Stratum IV at Nineveh (*AAA*, XX, 149), but these are not real plano-convex bricks; they owe their similarity merely to accident.

<sup>54</sup> They tend to disappear toward the end of the period, but are sporadically found even into the period of Sargon; see Frankfort, *JRAS*, 1937, p. 335

<sup>55</sup> Delougaz, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 7; Müller, *JAOS*, LVII, 84 ff. If the bricks were originated to imitate stone, as contended by both authors, they would be laid with the convex side out, but this is never done.

<sup>56</sup> See his *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im Alten Orient* (1930).

<sup>57</sup> The two types persisted into Babylonian and Assyrian times.

<sup>58</sup> Now fully described by Woolley, *Ur Excavations, II: The Royal Cemetery* (1934).

<sup>59</sup> See Frankfort, *OIC*, No. 13, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>60</sup> See Frankfort, *OIC*, No. 17, pp. 56 ff.; Richardson, *AJA*, XXXVIII, 555 ff.; Beck, *Ancient Egypt*, 1934, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>61</sup> See Parrot, *Mari: une ville perdue*, pp. 97 ff.; Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XXXI, 137 ff.

<sup>62</sup> See, e.g., Albright, *JAOS*, XLV, 193 ff.

<sup>63</sup> Edited by Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi* (1935).

<sup>64</sup> See, e.g., Gadd, *Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur* (1932); Frankfort, *OIC*, No. 16, pp. 47 ff.; No. 17, p. 22; Mackay, *Antiquity*, V, 459 ff.; Corbier, *Iraq*, III, 100 ff., IV, 1 ff.

<sup>65</sup> See Mallowan, *Iraq*, III, 104 ff.

<sup>66</sup> Discussed by Frankfort, *Iraq*, I, 1 ff.

<sup>67</sup> See Frankfort, *OIC*, No. 17, pp. 53 ff., Levy, *JHS*, LIV, 40 ff. Another find at Khafaje, indicating a connection between Babylonian and Greek mythology, is a small relief of c. 2000 B.C. depicting a cyclops; see *AJSL*, LIII, 67.

<sup>68</sup> See Frankfort, *OIC*, No. 17, pp. 21, 38 ff.

<sup>69</sup> For recent translations of his inscriptions see Price, *Great Cylinder Inscriptions of Gudea*, II (1927); Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of*

*Sumer and Akkad* (1929) For the report of recent excavations at Lagash see de Genouillac, *Fouilles de Telloh* (2 vols, 1934 and 1936)

<sup>70</sup> Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, p 79, and Cameron, *History of Early Elam*, p 54, assign Gudea to the latter part of the Ur III period, apparently solely on the ground that he is to be identified with the Gudea of the *ishakku*-lists of the Ur III period, but two Gudeas as *ishakku*s of Lagash, even within a period of 100 years, are possible

<sup>71</sup> See, e g, Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees*, pp 112 ff; to be described at length in *Ur Excavations*, V The most recent publication of texts from Ur III period is that by Hackman, *Temple Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma* (1937)

<sup>72</sup> For the magnificent mausoleum of Shulgi see Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, XI, 355 ff, to be described at length in *Ur Excavations*, VI.

<sup>73</sup> Viz, Bur-sin, Shu-Sin (formerly transcribed Gimil-Sin) and Ibi-Sin The names of the first two kings, now read Ur-Nammu and Shulgi, are Sumerian.

<sup>74</sup> Most recently collected by Ungnad, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 147 ff., now to be supplemented by Stephens, *RA*, XXXIII, 11 ff

<sup>75</sup> See Frankfort and Jacobsen, *OIC*, No. 13, pp. 25-50; also *OIC*, No 20, p 78

<sup>76</sup> See Parrot, *op cit*, p 236, Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XXXIII, 49 ff, 169 ff.

<sup>77</sup> *RA*, XXXIII, 171 ff The letters have been committed to Dossin and Jean for publication; for a summary of the contents see Dossin, *Comptes rendus*, Jan.-Mar., 1937, pp 12 ff, also Albright, *BASOR*, No 67, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>78</sup> In view of popular misunderstanding it may not be amiss to note that the identification of Hammurabi with the Amraphel of Gen. 14 has long been abandoned by all scholars of authority.

<sup>79</sup> Most recently and best translated by Eilers in *Der Alte Orient*, XXXI, Heft 3/4 Note also the edition by Deimel, *Codex Hammurabi. Transcriptio et Translatio latina* (1930). Through various articles Koschaker has made himself the leading authority in the interpretation of Babylonian law, and of Assyrian as well

<sup>80</sup> The most recently published are by Fish, *Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty in the John Rylands Library* (1936). For a recent treatment of letters in the Berlin Museum see P Kraus, *MVAeG*, XXXV, 2; XXXVI, 1.

<sup>80a</sup> For a recent treatment see F R. Kraus, *MVAeG*, XL, 2; *ZA*, XLIII, 77 ff.

<sup>81</sup> For recent publications of these see Budge and Smith, *Babylonian Legends of Creation* (1932); Labat, *Le Poème babylonien de la Création* (1930); Deimel, *Enuma eliš* (2nd ed., 1936); Budge and Gadd, *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge and the Gilgamesh Epic* (1930), Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh. Text, Transliteration and Notes* (1930), *The Epic of Gilgamesh: A New Translation* (1928); Schott, *Das Gilgamesh Epos: Neu übersetzt* (1934). For new light on Gilgamesh as a historical personage see Witzel, *Orientalia: Nova Series*, V, 331 ff.

<sup>82</sup> Through extensive research Thompson has made himself the authority in this field. Besides numerous articles in the various journals (listed in *JRAS*, 1937, pp 431 f.) he has a number of books on the subject, e. g., *The Assyrian Herbal* (1924); *Assyrian Medical Texts* (1924); *On the Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians* (1925), *A Dictionary of Assyrian Geology and Chemistry* (1936).

<sup>83</sup> On the fauna of Mesopotamia, supplementing an earlier article by Landsberger, see van Buren, *AfO*, XI, 1 ff.; also Ebeling, *MAOG*, X, 2, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>84</sup> See, e. g., Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Geology and Chemistry*

<sup>85</sup> The two scholars who have done most to elucidate this field are Thureau-Dangin in numerous articles in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* and Neugebauer in various articles and such books as *Mathematische Keilschrift-Texte*, Parts 1-3 (1934-37), and *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der antiken mathematischen Wissenschaften*, I: *Vorgriechische Mathematik* (1934).

<sup>86</sup> See Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XXIX, 131 ff.

<sup>87</sup> For a recently published text to be added to the few from this dynasty see Gadd and Thompson, *Iraq*, III, 87 ff. It contains the earliest known formula for the making of glazes. A new interpretation of the dynasty is given by Dougherty, *The Sealand of Ancient Arabia* (1932).

<sup>88</sup> Some letters from this period have recently been edited by Waschow, *MAOG*, X, No. 1.

<sup>89</sup> See, e. g., Unger, *Babylon* (1931).

<sup>90</sup> See particularly his *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (1929). See also Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts relating to the Capture and Fall of Babylon* (1924), on pp 27 ff of which he has edited a versified political pamphlet (the earliest specimen of its kind known) violently attacking the policy and religion of Nabonidus.

<sup>91</sup> For a recent treatment of the Babylonian calendar in different periods see Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars* (1935).

<sup>92</sup> See, e. g., Fotheringham, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik*, II, 28 ff.

<sup>93</sup> See, e. g., Langdon and Harden, *Iraq*, I, 113 ff.

<sup>94</sup> See Waterman, *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tel Umar*, Nos 1 and 2 (1931 and 1933); Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris* (1934), McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris* (1935), and *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* (1935).

<sup>95</sup> *Yale Classical Studies*, III, 1 ff.

<sup>96</sup> See Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*, p. xi.

<sup>97</sup> Translated by Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I (1926); Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* (1926).

<sup>98</sup> The most recent publications are Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and*

*Vicinity* (1935); Lewy, *Die Kulteptexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn* (1930), *Keilschrifttexte aus Kleinassien: Hilprecht Collection* (1932), "Tablettes cappadociennes," *Louvre XX*, 1937.

<sup>99</sup> See Meek, *op cit*, Nos 223-227.

<sup>100</sup> See Starr, *Nuzi*, II (1937); also the brief report by Pfeiffer in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1935, pp. 535-58.

<sup>101</sup> See, e g., Albright in Leary, *From the Pyramids to Paul* (1935); Gotze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrier* (1936); Ungnad, *Subartu* (1936).

<sup>102</sup> The more important publications of texts are by Chiera, *Publications of the Baghdad School*, I-V (1927-34); *Harvard Semitic Series*, V (1929), Pfeiffer, *Harvard Semitic Series*, IX (1932); Pfeiffer and Speiser, *AASOR*, XVI (1937). For interpretations of the texts see various articles by Chiera, Koschaker, Speiser, Gordon, Lacheman, and others: also Koschaker, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit* (1928), Cross, *Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents* (1937); and Gustavs, "Namenreihen aus den Kerkuk-Tafeln," *MAOG*, X, 3.

<sup>103</sup> See, e g., Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (1936), pp. 3-15, together with the literature there cited. We know now that the Hurrians are to be identified with the Horites of the Old Testament.

<sup>104</sup> *The Assyrian Laws* (1935).

<sup>105</sup> *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, I-IV (1930-36); cf also Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria* (1935).

<sup>106</sup> See Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh* (1932), *AAA*, XX, 79 ff., Pls. LXXX ff., CIV.

<sup>107</sup> See Thompson and Hutchinson, *The Excavations of the Temple of Nabu at Nineveh* (1930); cf also *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (1929) by the same authors.

<sup>108</sup> Loud, *Khorsabad*, I (1936); Jacobsen and Lloyd, *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan* (1936). In the latter publication we have the description of a remarkable aqueduct that brought the cool water of the mountains all the way to Nineveh, even carrying it by bridge-work across a ravine. It is a type of construction nowhere else surviving from pre-Roman days.

<sup>109</sup> *The Inscriptions of Sargon*, I (1930), to be followed later by II.

<sup>110</sup> Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (1932); Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal*, I (1933), to be followed later by II.

<sup>111</sup> See Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* (1923).

<sup>111a</sup> Well treated by Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (1936), and Weidner *et al.* in a series of articles beginning in *Afo*, X, and still running. Note also the marvellous series of Assyrian wall-paintings discovered at Tell Ahmar; Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *Til-Barsib* (1936).

<sup>112</sup> The last two volumes of *Cuneiform Texts*, 40 and 41, appeared in 1927 and 1931 respectively.

<sup>113</sup> The last volume of texts appeared in 1926: Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon*.

<sup>114</sup> The last volume to appear is Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria* (1937).

<sup>115</sup> The only volumes to appear in recent years are *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (1931) by Falkenstein and *Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrier in den Berliner Museen*, I and II (1933), by Matouš and von Soden respectively.

<sup>116</sup> Vols. XI and XXI inclusive have all appeared between 1926 and 1937. For the translation of *Louvre XII* and *XIII* see Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents* (1935).

<sup>117</sup> Some recent publications not already noted are Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts* (1929); *Sumerian Epics and Myths* (1934), *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents* (1934), Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab* (1930).

<sup>118</sup> One from Ur not already noted is Gadd and Legrain, *Ur: Royal Inscriptions* (1928).

<sup>119</sup> A volume in this series not already noted is Pohl, *Vorsargonische und Sargonische Wirtschaftstexte* (1935).

<sup>120</sup> Articles on individual points have appeared from time to time; see, e. g., Schott, *MVAeG*, XXX, 2; Landsberger, *ZA*, XXXV, 113 ff.; Speiser, *JAOS*, LVI, 22 ff.; Oppenheim, *WZKM*, XLII, 1 ff.; Meek, *RA*, XXXII, 51 ff., XXXIV, 60 ff.; Goetze, *JAOS*, LVI, 297 ff.; *Orientalia: Nova Series*, VI, 12 ff.; Deimel, *ibid.*, III, 196 ff.; Ungnad, *ibid.*, VI, 252 ff.

<sup>121</sup> *ZA*, XL, 163 ff.; XLI, 90 ff.

<sup>122</sup> *Die Ostkanaanäer* (1926).

<sup>123</sup> *L'Akkadien de Boghaz-köi* (1932).

<sup>124</sup> *The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets* (*AASOR*, XI, 63 ff.).

<sup>125</sup> *The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian* (*Language Dissertations*, No. 23, 1937).

<sup>126</sup> *AfO*, XI, 56 ff.

<sup>127</sup> *AASOR*, XVI, 136 ff.

<sup>128</sup> Note also the supplement, *Das sumerische Verbum* (1935).

<sup>129</sup> Among recent articles see, e. g., Poebel, *AJSL*, L, 143 ff.; LI, 145 ff.; *JAOS*, LVII, 35 ff.; *Oriental Institute: Assyriological Studies*, No. 2; Kramer, *ibid.*, No. 8; *Archiv Orientalní*, VIII, 18 ff.

<sup>130</sup> *Le syllabaire accadien* (1926) and *Les homophones sumériens* (1929). For supplementary values by various scholars see the references cited in *AJSL*, LIII, 34, n. 1, to which is now to be added *AJSL*, LIII, 180 ff.

## THE PRESENT STATE OF ARABIAN STUDIES

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

University of Pennsylvania

The key-word in the title is polychromatic, of varied suggestiveness. Arabia is a definite peninsula at the southwest of the Asian continent, indeed is the largest peninsula in the world. But passing beyond this purely geographical contour, we must for physical, ethnical and economical reasons include in the term the great desert triangle extending northwards between Syria-Palestine on the west and the modern nation of Iraq on the east. Similarly the name "Arab, Arabs," denotes primarily the ancient stock of the peoples of Arabia. But we find the word trespassing far beyond the natural boundaries. In Palestine the Jewish immigrants call the older inhabitants Arabs, this simply because the latter speak the Arabic language—as correct a designation as if a foreigner were to call us Americans English because of our language, in which objection a Scotsman or Irishman would as vigorously join. For the Arab blood in Palestine is probably a minor element, and a large minority of the original population is still Christian by ancient tradition, preceding the Islamic conquest of that once wholly Christianized land, although now speaking Arabic as the vernacular.<sup>1</sup> Professor Hitti in his recent *History of the Arabs* would distinguish the people of the peninsula as "Arabians," reserving "Arab" as designation of the great empire of state and culture which was established and spread by the faith of Islam. Further the adjective "Arabic" is used in particular of the language, and that a language which has had the most unique development and spread of all the tongues of the earth; it is only within the past two centuries that English has come to rival it. As it is the



language of the divine Book, the Koran, knowledge of which in its original was bounden upon the Faithful, with the cosmopolitan spread of Islam it became an imperial language, imposing itself within a century after Muhammad over a territory stretching from Indian Punjab to both coasts of the Strait of Gibraltar (the latter itself an Arabic word), and the Bay of Biscay. The Jew venerates his ancient Hebrew Bible, the prototype of the sacred Books of Christendom and Islam, and sedulously cultivates the "Sacred Tongue" in his own circles, but otherwise it is, apart from its development as a vernacular among the modern Palestinian Jews, simply an object of scholastic study. The Western Christian had first his Greek Bible, preserved along with the Greek liturgies and Fathers of the Eastern churches. It was early translated into Latin, then this was replaced by Jerome's great version, the Vulgate, and this Latin Bible played its distinguished part along with all other elements of the Roman culture in the long history of Western culture. But with the Reformation in Northern Europe Bible and liturgy and canons were all translated into modern vernaculars, and the Latin Bible has become, outside of the Roman Communion, a scholarly handbook. But Arabic has remained to this day the official and commanding language wherever the religion of Islam has established itself as empire and culture, whether in India and Farther-India (the Moros, or Moors of our Philippine possessions are to be included), or the various peoples of Africa, for the whole length of the Mediterranean littoral and back to the Equator and beyond. Ancient Christian Abyssinia, now fallen to the Italian empire, was the only Christian land in that continent that maintained itself against the triumph of Islam. The now independent nation of Egypt is Arabic and Islamic. Only within the past decade or so has the politically regenerated Turkey thrown off that

inherited yoke; it is no longer Arab, ruling the Arabic world, but simply Turkish. We are apt to forget in our Western provincialism that only in the year that Columbus discovered America were the last Moors driven out of Spain; or that twelve years after the received date for the birth of the Reformation, with Luther's *Theses*, the Muslim armies were besieging Vienna, the political capital of the Holy Roman Empire. And in 1803-4 our young American nation had its first foreign war with Arab Tripoli.<sup>2</sup>

Christendom has become a term for a definite complex of territory and culture in the world's history—much as Christians may deprecate the use of a word developed from the name of their Lord and Master, for a civilization which peculiarly in our own day is exhibiting unrecorded inhuman barbarities. For the Arabian world we might use similarly, after the religion, the term Islamic, so indissolubly bound together have been the Holy Book of Islam, its religion and empire, all of which trace back to the Semitic folk of Arabia.

"Arab," "Arabic," "Arabian" are thus adjectives of at once specific and broad construction. They may refer to a particular territory and its language, to its people at home and abroad, or to its religion and empire which have rivalled Christendom in extent and power, and which still remain insoluble to the Christian religion and ethos. One key holds good for the understanding of that remarkable complex, the permanent and static character of its original home. Judaism and Christianity have for centuries been exiles from their Holy Land, Persian Zoroastrianism survives in India, Indian Buddhism in Chinese Tibet. But Arabia remains Arabian and the nucleus for all things Arabian, Arabic in tongue and religion. Although since most ancient times the next-door neighbor of great empires in Asia and Africa and later Europe, it has maintained its independent genius despite all fruitless

attempts at conquest. While lying on the greatest maritime route in the world, *via* the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, it is reviving today into an Arabic nation for the first time in history, and with the will to pursue its own character and destiny.

What the future of Arabia will be with the advent of armed motor cars, telegraph and wireless, and modern economics, remains to be seen. But it still survives as the one great stretch of antiquity on the border of the Bible lands. There is no natural division on the Palestinian border separating that land on the east and south from the Arabian steppes what the English Bible translates as "desert." We can thus begin studying our ancient Biblical history by inspecting modern Arabia and its life. From the earliest chapters of the Book we have the clear-cut difference between the oasis-like Garden of Eden and the desert country outside; the wandering Bedawi Abraham, migrating with his flocks as even today the Arabs seek their pastures at far-flung sites; the Bedawi-like Esau whose hand was against every man; while the climax of the Sacred History of the Old Testament is the Law given in the Arabian desert of Sinai. And all through that history there is the constant breath blowing in from Arabia; we catch it not only in the pilgrimage of an Elijah or a Paul to traditional Sinai, but in varied notes throughout the literature of the Prophets, the Psalms, the book of Job, whose home was in the desert lands and whose family suffered from the raids of Arabian Chaldaeans and Sabaeans. No more realistic commentary on the Book can be had than from that same country, still so static, primitive in its character.

Scientific exploration of Arabia is dated from the enterprise of the great Danish scholar Carsten Niebuhr in 1762 and subsequently. Before that time Ptolemy Claudius, the geographer of the second century, knew more about

Arabia than any successor.<sup>3</sup> But the fascinating story of exploration includes more than merely scientific information; it includes many books of permanent literary value with which a cultivated reader should be acquainted. To name easily accessible books, there should be cited Sir Richard F. Burton's *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Mecca*,<sup>4</sup> the travel-stories of Sir Wilfred and Lady Anne Blunt,<sup>5</sup> and above all the amazing and unique *Arabia Deserta* by Charles Doughty with the story of his wanderings beginning in 1875.<sup>6</sup> This is a work acclaimed by all as great English literature apart from its Orientalistic value. As T. E. Lawrence, editor of the new edition, says: "in a few of its pages you learn more of the Arabs than all that others have written, and the further you go, the closer the style seems to cling to the subject, and the more natural it becomes to your taste."

Doughty's name suggests at once that of his commentator, just cited, Colonel Lawrence, one of the most enigmatic persons in history and literature.<sup>7</sup> An Oxford scholar, a Hellenist—in 1932 he published an original translation of Homer's *Odyssey*—becoming interested in Oriental archaeology and working with Hogarth at Carchemish and with Woolley in Sinai, not an Arabist, his strange genius was effective in organizing the Arab revolt against Turkey and so tipping the scales as to make possible Allenby's conquest of Palestine. But it is not his military and diplomatic genius that concerns us here, but his literary contributions, which reveal not only his cryptic soul but also that of the Arabs. His earlier book, *Revolt in the Desert* (New York, 1926) was widely read. But there was knowledge of another and more striking volume—of which the *Revolt* was an abridgment—privately printed in a very limited and most expensive edition in 1926, until at last the embargo was lifted in 1935, and a purchasable volume put on the market. This is his *Seven*

*Pillars of Wisdom*, which may go down as a permanent classical contribution to English literature, like Doughty's book, these works crowning a long list of stimuli which have come to our Western thought from the Near East, all mediated by a series of remarkable men and women who could sympathize with and reflect that exotic atmosphere.

Reference was made above to Burton's *Pilgrimage to the Holy Cities of Arabia*. Far more important in its scope and results for exact knowledge was the pilgrimage by the eminent Dutch Arabist, Snouck Hurgronje, in 1886. His book, published in two large volumes in German, has now been partly presented in English in a volume covering his description of life in Mecca.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent to Hogarth's record three further works by such pilgrims have appeared, all composed in English.<sup>9</sup> Of these the most important since Hurgronje's contribution is the notable work by Eldon Rutter. Finally on the subject of the Pilgrimage should be named a most scholarly and well documented volume, presenting the history and full details of the rites, by Gaudefroy-Demombynes.<sup>10</sup>

Keeping our eye still on the northern parts of Arabia, we have to note as the most substantial contribution, both for actual experience and scholarly judgment, the encyclopaedic work of Professor Alois Musil of the University of Prague, now presented in English form by the sumptuous generosity of the American Geographical Society.<sup>11</sup> This series describes long explorations of the borderlands of Syria-Palestine and Iraq and interior districts like the Sirhan depression, the Jauf, and Nejd. A useful abridgment of this work, containing selections on the land and life of the Arabs, has recently been published.<sup>12</sup>

To this wide-flung series should be added several other most readable volumes of briefer contents. First worthy

of mention are the fascinating books by Miss Gertrude Bell—later hailed as “the uncrowned queen of Iraq,” who was potent in establishing the present dynasty and kingdom of that land. Her two books record her venture-some explorations of the desert fringes of the Fertile Crescent, while to the lady’s credit is the feat of being one of the very few Westerners who have crossed Arabia from the East to the West.<sup>13</sup> In addition to the writer’s earlier notes on recent works on this field of Arabia<sup>14</sup> may be added other volumes, for example: W. B. Seabrook’s *Adventures in Arabia*, a somewhat journalistic record of experiences with Bedouin, Dervishes, Devil-Worshippers, etc.; and especially C. R. Raswan’s *Black Tents of Arabia* (Boston, 1935). Raswan has been engaged for some years in procuring blooded Arab horses for the stables of Mr. W. K. Kellogg in California, and through the intimacy of his relations with the Arabs of the Rualla tribe, in whose wars he has even participated, he has written one of the truest and also most affecting of descriptions in the whole field.<sup>15</sup>

The explorations and volumes noted above are commentaries on the Bible in their exposition of the static Arabian life, which only since the Great War is coming to suffer Western modernization, although this is still under strict control. But on the Arabian fringe of the Fertile Crescent archaeological finds of great interest have been slowly accruing. The Arabs were constantly pressing into the land of the Sown, taking advantage of the political weakness of those lands,<sup>16</sup> particularly in the collapse of imperial control, for example the irruption of the Habiri-Hebrews with the decadence of the Egyptian empire, later with the breakdown of the Hellenic kingdoms and the beginnings of the Roman empire, while the conquest of that world by the Islamic Arabs was due, secularly speaking, to the miserable administration of the

Byzantine empire. Most significant for light on these movements from the Arabic field is that of the Nabataeans with their centre at romantic Petra.<sup>17</sup> This Arab people adopted the Aramaic script and language along with the attendant culture. But there are other epigraphical remains of Arabic script and dialect, dating back to the beginning of the era at least, distinguished as Lihyanian, Safaitic, Thamudene, Sinaitic, hailing from the circuit east and west of Palestine, the scripts having their connection with that of far South Arabia, the actual monuments of which language have been found in northwestern Arabia.<sup>18</sup> This development in contact and culture was a harbinger and introduction to the later triumph of Islam in those lands.

But all this epigraphical material, of comparatively late date, fails in significance beside the discovery of the earliest known form of alphabetic writing in the Arabian peninsula of Sinai. To this subject a whole chapter is properly dedicated in this Volume.

The above description has confined itself to the north of the peninsula, to the fringe of the Biblical lands, and to the westerly Hijaz, the territory of the Holy Cities. There is another field of still unexploited significance for the history of ancient politics and culture. This is South Arabia, the territory facing on the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, known from the Table of Nations in Gen. 10 under the still distinguishable specific names of Seba-Sheba and Hazarmaveth (Hadhramaut). One ancient geographical name survives in the designation of a still existent kingdom, that of al-Yemen, i. e. the "Right-hand, Southern" country. The writer has presented elsewhere a review of this fascinating field, with considerable bibliography, and may note here only some of the slowly increasing amount of exploration in a land that has been hostile both physically and politically to the intruder.<sup>19</sup>

The culture of this land has left behind a great quantity of stone inscriptions, some of very considerable length, dating back into the first half of the first millennium B. C. (the upper dates are uncertain, some scholars would date them far earlier) and extending to the eve of Islam. The latter development wrecked the older civilization, and drove these fertile lands and culturally advanced peoples into the backwoods of history. For the Semitic linguist these texts offer us knowledge of the earliest specimens of the Arab stock of language, and we thus possess a large quantum of material competing with the long known groups of the north, Hebrew, Aramaic, Akkadian, and the closely related but younger Ethiopic of Abyssinia. It is of interest, for one example, that the recently discovered Ras Shamra texts of northern Syria, dating back towards 1500 B. C., have linguistic connections with the South Arabic.<sup>20</sup> The interpretation of these well preserved documents presents a region of high civilization balancing the northern Semitic cultures. Unlike some of them, as the Assyrian and the Babylonian, political empire was not the objective. South Arabia was a land of international commercial relations, producing gold, the frankincense so requisite for ancient society and religion, while its frontage on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean made it the purveyor between West and East as far as India.<sup>21</sup> It enjoyed the same position in the commercial life of the Eastern Ocean as does still its promontory fortress Aden in Great Britain's at once political and economic empire. Sprenger, the historian of antiquity, utters the following dictum: "The frankincense region was the heart of the world commerce of antiquity, and it began to pulsate in prehistoric times. There follows the conclusion: The Arabs, more exactly the people of the frankincense region, were the founders of international commerce as it existed in antiquity." Also a peculiar indi-



genous economics was created with consequent effect upon the social and political organization. The land depended upon the artificial storage of the waters of the rainy season and their canalization for use of the crops. There remain ruins of a great dam at Marib, which was, so far as the writer knows, the greatest engineering feat of the kind until the last century. In politics the state, being so dependent upon cooperation of all elements, developed an almost parliamentary constitution, with a limited kingship, the estates of nobility and certain castes, and "the people" participating. Inscribed constitutions and laws have survived.

Resolute and intelligent observation has been gradually disclosing the unknown interior of the land, in particular the great desert of the Forbidden Quarter, the heroes being Philby, Cheesman, Bertram Thomas.<sup>22</sup> But the current exploration of South Arabia has not yet reached the level of close survey and excavation; the one exception is the skilled examination of an ancient temple in the Yemen by C. Rathjens and H. v. Wissmann.<sup>23</sup> But most fascinating are the *reconnaissances* of a series of recent explorers, accompanied with the camera, which enable us to obtain an idea of the present-day Yemen, with all its political degeneracy. The cities are of sky-scraper architecture, with palatial mansions rising twelve stories or more above a series of basements, so that one of the writers entitles Part I of his book "the Chicago of the Desert." How ancient the present buildings are we do not know, but Arabic authorities of the Middle Ages report the same style of construction. This architecture is the survival of ancient and far more glorious ages, and gives the reader, with splendid photographs at hand, a visual sense of that ancient civilization, even as do the ruined ziggurats and palaces of Babylonia and Assyria for those lands.<sup>24</sup>

"Desert" and unknown as Arabia may seem, it has contributed a potent element to the world's history and civilization. Two notable volumes bearing upon the Arabs and their history have recently appeared, one by Professor P. K. Hitti, of Princeton University, the other by Bertram Thomas, earlier the author of two notable volumes of adventure in South Arabia.<sup>25</sup> Dr. Hitti, himself Syrian born, belongs to the tradition of the Arab culture; his volume presents the imperial and cosmopolitan history of the Arabs down to the rise of the Ottoman caliphate. Mr. Thomas, one of the best informed experts upon the Arabia of today, addresses himself in particular to the land, its history to the present date, and its prospects. Part IV, devoted to the "Revival" of the Arabs treats of (1) The Arabs and the World War; (2) Palestine (a sober and well-balanced survey of the present conditions in that troubled land); with an Epilogue. I would note the fine appreciation by one who knows the Arabs so well (pp. 347 ff.) of their "pride, honour, love of freedom, chivalry." To these two books the reader is heartily recommended.

As ancient times fruit in modern history, we have to observe the revival of Arabia and the Arabs proceeding under our very eyes. A new united Arabia, "Arabia for the Arabs," is being created for the first time in history, with as its potentate Ibn Saud, now titularly king of the Hijaz and Sultan of Nejd, in a word King of the Arabs.<sup>26</sup> His one rival, the Imam of the Yemen, was suppressed by him in 1934, but a treaty of peace was made between them. The king of the Arabs now dominates the whole of the peninsula, with exception of such coast lands as are in possession of or under control of Great Britain. With a similar Arab dynasty in the independent kingdom of Iraq, with an Arab Emir in Transjordan, and the startling current proposition of the British Government to transfer to him a large portion of Western Palestine,

so constituting another Arab kingdom, we may mark and ponder how the Arab people are again coming into their own in the peninsula and its circuit.

As a concluding item of bibliography should be noted the volume just published by Dr. Charles R. Watson, President of the American University at Cairo, *What is This Moslem World?* (Friendship Press, New York, 1937). It presents a graphic and panoramic view of the extent of the present world of Islam, and gives a study of the actual religion which is at once sympathetic and critical.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Withal the country-side of Palestine has become thoroughly Arabized, I may note the well informed and charming book by A. Goodrich-Freer (Mrs H H Spoer), *Arabs in Tent and Town* (London, 1924)

<sup>2</sup> Prof Paul Kahle, of Bonn, has published in the *Geographical Review* for October, 1933, an article entitled "The Lost Map of Columbus." This is a copy of Columbus's first map, now lost, of his western discoveries, with text in Arabic, executed by a distinguished Turkish admiral Piri Re'is, about 1517 A D

<sup>3</sup> See the admirable volume of the late D. G Hogarth, himself a distinguished Hellenist, *The Penetration of Arabia* (New York, 1904), bringing the story down to the beginning of the century. The references in the text above mostly add subsequent travels and explorations. For extensive bibliography see the writer's *Arabia and the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1934).

<sup>4</sup> Ed. 1, 1855; a cheap two volume edition has been published in London, 1906. An unvarnished life of Burton has recently appeared, *Burton of Arabia*, by Seton Dearden (New York, 1937).

<sup>5</sup> Anne Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (New York, 1879); *A Pilgrimage to Nejd* (1881).

<sup>6</sup> First published in 1888, the volume soon becoming a rarity; it has now been made common property in a one-volume edition (London, 1926 *et seq.*). *A Life of C. M. Doughty* by Dr. Hogarth appeared in 1928.

<sup>7</sup> Of Lawrence who died by accident in 1935, many lives and studies have already appeared; I may name Lowell Thomas, *With Lawrence in Arabia* (New York, 1924); Robert Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs* (London, 1928); Liddell Hart, *T. E Lawrence, In Arabia* (London, 1928—a study in particular of Lawrence's strategics by a distinguished military expert); N. N. E. Bray, *Shifting Sands, the True Story of the*

*Arab Revolt* (London, 1934—most critical of Lawrence's alleged contributions to the Great War); R. H. Kiernan, *Lawrence of Arabia* (1935), Charles Edmonds, *T. E. Lawrence* (New York, 1936), and a collectanea contributed by some eighty 'friends' expressing their various opinions, edited by a brother, A. W. Lawrence, *T. E. Lawrence, By his Friends* (New York, 1937). Lawrence has also left behind a book entitled *The Mint*, with orders that it shall not be published until 1950.

<sup>8</sup> *Mecca* (London, 1931), translated by J. H. Monahan.

<sup>9</sup> Hadji Khan and Wilfred Sparrow, *With the Pilgrims at Mecca* (London, 1908), A. B. Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca* (Boston—n.d., after 1908), Eldon Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia* (2 vols., 1928, ed. 2, one volume, New York, 1930).

<sup>10</sup> *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke, étude d'histoire religieuse* (1923).

<sup>11</sup> *Topographical Itineraries of Explorations in Arabia and Mesopotamia 1908-1905*, six volumes (New York, 1926-28).

<sup>12</sup> A. Musil, *In the Arabian Desert*, edited by Katharine M. Wright, and fully illustrated (New York, 1930).

<sup>13</sup> *The Desert and the Sown* (London, 1907); *Amurath to Amurath* (a title drawn from an Arabic proverb, expressing eternal round of history, London-New York, 1911).

<sup>14</sup> *Arabia and the Bible*, ch. v.

<sup>15</sup> His paper on "Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins" in the *Geographical Review* for July, 1930, is a scientific contribution to an age-long historical phenomenon.

<sup>16</sup> The usurpers in North Israel, Zimri and Omri (1 Kings, 16) were doubtless Arabs, as their names etymologically show, they were intruders, as their fathers' names are not given.

<sup>17</sup> There may be named as especially illustrating this pressure of the Arabs and their political settlement in lands of civilization M. Rostovtzeff's delightful volume, *Caravan Cities* (Oxford, 1932), treating of Petra, Jerash, Palmyra, Dura-Europos. See also S. Erskine, *The Vanished Cities of Arabia* (1925).

<sup>18</sup> See R. Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (1907), and the survey in Nielsen's *Handbuch* (see note 20 below), pp. 37 ff. The Aretas whose ethnarch Paul escaped from, 2 Cor. 13: 32, was member of a Nabataean dynasty which long defied the Roman empire; the Ituraea of Luke 3: 1 was named after an Arab tribe, the Jetur of the Old Testament, which conquered and settled there.

<sup>19</sup> *Arabia and the Bible*, ch. vi, 'Araby the Blest,' i.e. the Latin *Arabia Felix*, 'Fertile Arabia,' as distinguished from the northern *Arabia Deserta*.

<sup>20</sup> Vol. 1 has appeared (1927) of a series planned to cover this whole field, edited by D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, the volume giving a general introduction to the old Arabian civilization, the archaeological remains, etc. On the lexical side a large and most important work has been published by G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* (Louvain, 1934), which is indispensable for the study of Hebrew proper names.

<sup>21</sup> The statement in 1 Kings 10: 22 that every three years the Tarshish-  
navy of Solomon came with its oriental products is not apocryphal.  
'Three years' means 'in the third year,' and a return voyage of two  
years and more by coasting vessels would not be extraordinary. At the  
same time the item among the imports translated 'peacocks' (an Indian  
fowl) has not been proved to be of Indian origin. Texts in the Minaean  
dialect of the South Arabic have been found in Egypt and at Hellenic  
Delos, and recently an early type of the script at Ur in Iraq.

<sup>22</sup> *Arabia and the Bible*, 76, n 2

<sup>23</sup> *Vorislamische Altertümer*, II (1932); a further volume has appeared,  
no III, *Südarabische Reise* (1934)

<sup>24</sup> See D. Van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Hadramaut and some  
of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932; also the former's article in the  
*Nat. Geog. Magazine* for Oct 1932). A much slighter and yet interesting  
book is by H. Helfritz, *Land without Shade* (New York, 1936). A book  
by Miss Freya Stark, *The Southern Gates of Arabia* (1936), I have not  
seen, it records the venturesome trip of a woman alone in the Hadramaut.

<sup>25</sup> Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937), Thomas, *The Arabs*  
(London, 1937). Also of great value is *The Legacy of Islam*, edited by  
T. Arnold and A. Guillaume (Oxford, 1931). Note may here be made  
for readers with a scholastic interest of two volumes that have recently  
appeared from the Arabic press. One is the 'official' edition of the  
Koran published at Cairo, to which Prof. A. W. Jeffery, late of the  
American University in Cairo, now professor at Columbia University,  
has introduced me—a text, as he remarks, 'far superior' to Fluegel's  
generally used text. The other is of interest to the New Testament student,  
*Diatessaron de Tatian* by A. S. Marmadji (Beyrouth, 1935), a voluminous  
discussion (over 600 pages) of that earliest Harmony of the Gospels,  
which survives only in Arabic.

<sup>26</sup> See the writer's article, "Arabia To-day," *JAOS* (1927), 97-132,  
presenting the post-war history, with bibliography; A. J. Toynbee, *Survey  
of International Affairs*, the several volumes since 1920; Thomas's book  
cited above.

To the above literature should be added the several authoritative articles  
on the present Islamic world appearing in *The Open Court*, 1931-32, the  
contributors being Henry Field, H. L. Hoskins, T. Hussein, A. H. Lybyer,  
A. T. Olmstead, A. Rihani, M. Sprengling. Dr. Field has contributed to  
B. Thomas's *The Arabs* a valuable Appendix (pp. 353-359) presenting  
the latest anthropological results on the "Racial Origins of the Arabs."  
Note should also be made of a recent exploration by H. St. J. B. Philby  
(who earlier made the first Westerner's crossing of the Desert Quarter),  
described by him in the *N. Y. Times Magazine* of Aug 21, 1937, under  
the title, "The Burning Sands of Arabia."

## THE PRESENT STATE OF EGYPTIAN STUDIES

JOHN A. WILSON

Oriental Institute  
University of Chicago

### *Survey of Developments Since the War*

Egyptology is still a young field of research as compared to biblical and classical studies. Only a generation ago it left its relatively disorganized youth and entered its intellectual maturity. But it has already reached an age when it looks back with respect on some of its achievements. Perhaps every generation murmurs with admiration, "There were giants in those days." Recent severe losses to the science have emphasized the fact that the ranks of the old masters, who seemed to bestride the world like colossi, are thinning, leaving as their successors a body of specialists, who wisely confine their activities to restricted phases of the field. Egyptology has become too large and too complicated for the inclusive grasp of a single man. Individual scholars must stake out individual claims and there establish their competence.

The sad enumeration of those who have died within a short span of years will show the changes which face Egyptology. The genial interpreter of ancient civilizations, Maspero, died during the war. The brilliant German philologists, Erman, Sethe, and Spiegelberg, have recently gone. England has lost well-rounded scholars in Hall, Peet, and Griffith. Grenfell and Hunt, the founders of papyrology, are no longer with us. And America has lost a great force in Breasted. Their successors face a different task: they will work on the canvas, not with such brilliant sweeps of the brush, but rather with a

punctilious filling in of separate areas by finely placed bits of color.

The past fifteen years have had their dramatic triumphs. The brilliant display of the tomb of Tutenkhamon is well known. These objects are very important as illustrative material for the period of the Egyptian empire. Perhaps the discovery was equally significant in that it stimulated the interest of the layman in his past. The lay public is still fascinated by archeology. For the purposes of Egyptian archeology and history there were other discoveries of equal or even greater value. The rescue by Reisner and his staff of the sadly damaged furniture in the intact tomb of the mother of Cheops, builder of the Great Pyramid, was a superlative achievement of modern archeology. Excavation around the Step Pyramid of Sakkarah has brought to light new and unexpected developments in earliest stone architecture.

Surely the most valuable trend in current Egyptian archeology has been the recovery of the prehistoric by several different individuals and institutions. Before the war the three cultural stages immediately preceding the dynasties had been isolated in Upper Egypt. Innumerable surface flints had been picked up to show the existence of stone age industries.

Beginning about 1924 the prehistoric began to unfold in astonishing profusion. As so often, it was an expedition under Sir Flinders Petrie that made the first advance, discovering the Badarian civilization, a stage earlier than the predynastic civilizations already known. Guy Brunton carried out this work and added a still earlier step, the Tasian, in the same district of Middle Egypt. Meanwhile, Miss Caton-Thompson was finding something even older, a neolithic culture, in the Faiyum, while Junker's survey of the Delta resulted in the discovery and excavation of a neolithic site at Merimdeh Beni-Salameh. South of

Cairo the Egyptian University did admirable work at el-Maadi on a culture just predynastic, important in that it showed links between the known materials of Upper Egypt and the newly found materials of Lower Egypt.

Such work pushed back the horizon of the egyptologist from historical times into the neolithic age. There has been a similar movement in the opposite direction from earliest paleolithic times. The genius of several French scholars has identified a number of stone age cultures, native to Egypt but running parallel to phases in other regions. A comprehensive prehistoric survey of Egypt by Kenneth Sandford has established the geological history of the Nile Valley, searched out human artifacts in geological formation, and thus blocked out the main outlines of man's earliest career along the river. With minor gaps, we can carry the human story from the Old Stone Age down to modern times. When this information is placed in relation to other recent discoveries on prehistoric man in North Africa and Palestine, it gives a valuable documentation for the setting of the great revolution, which occurred at the dawn of history. No more important development has taken place in modern egyptology.

Of recent years there has been a tendency on the part of egyptologists to leave their accustomed sphere of excavating sites of pharaonic Egypt. This has already been suggested above in outlining the work accomplished on the predynastic. There are other factors in the case. It has appeared possible that the richer opportunities may be on the frontiers and in the neighboring countries. The antiquities law of Egypt and the administration of that law were for a time less liberal than in pre-war days. Excavators have not felt an assurance that their efforts will be rewarded with a proportionate share of antiquities. Therefore ten years ago the British School of Archaeology in Egypt moved across into new fields of oppor-



tunity in southern Palestine. Recently the Egypt Exploration Society migrated south into the Sudan. Whatever the reasons may be, the University of Pennsylvania, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Oriental Institute are excavating in the Near East, but no longer in Egypt.

Politics may have played a part in this movement away from excavation in Egypt, but there are other factors. Pharaonic Egypt is relatively well known, but it is important to gather data on the interplay of forces between Egypt and its neighbors. Thus there has been a great interest in Nubia and the deserts bordering the Nile, in Palestine and Syria. The materials from many sites in Palestine, and from Byblos and Ras Shamra in Syria, are of fundamental concern to egyptology. Egypt is no longer two strips of black soil flanking a river, but has flowed over its natural boundaries and merged with its neighboring countries. The egyptologist must know the archeology and history of those other districts so that he may know Egypt.

Fifteen years has seen a remarkable implementation of Egyptian philology. Where the student once had to make his own aids on the basis of certain elementary handbooks, he now has a dictionary and grammar for the earlier stages of the language, a dictionary for Coptic, and a grammar for demotic. Other aids are promised for the future. Where we once said: "Egyptian shows no vowels," we now know a respectable amount about vocalization at various periods of Egyptian history, and we may apply principles gained from scores of observations. The Coptic dialects are much better known than they were thirty years ago, with a resultant greater control over the history of the language. A dramatic coup by an egyptologist was Vycichl's recent discovery of Coptic still in spoken use in an out-of-the-way district. There is room for much solid work in philology.

Two interesting textual discoveries have marked current work. In 1924 Erman showed that the Egyptian compilation of wisdom known as the Teaching of Amemope had a very direct relation to Proverbs 22: 17 - 24: 22. In addition to the close parallelism in thought and structure, certain words and phrases in the Hebrew could be understood only by reference to the Egyptian. This sharing of a common literature is obviously important for biblical studies.

In 1931 Gardiner began the publication of the Chester Beatty hieratic papyri, a collection of literary texts of the Egyptian empire. These contributed a notable addition to the already known literature of ancient times, with many new and welcome features. There was a long and complete mythological text relating the contendings of the gods Horus and Seth, rather startlingly ribald in tone. There were new love songs, similar in spirit to the Song of Songs. A most interesting allegory, the Blinding of Truth by Falsehood, came as a surprising novelty, but actually is quite Egyptian in character. A book for the interpretation of dreams, magical and religious texts, and student exercises make up the remainder of the find. Such literature was characteristic of the Near East about 1200 B. C. It belongs to the thought pattern of the time and region.

One curious episode must be mentioned briefly. It had long been recognized that the present museum facilities in Cairo were inadequate. In 1926 John D. Rockefeller, Jr., offered to the Egyptian government a modern, spacious museum building, with a research institute for the study and training of egyptologists. The reasons why this munificent offer was not acted upon may never be known, as the currents were many and complex. But it seems clear that an opportunity was lost, because the proposal promised to benefit both the land of Egypt and the study of egyptology.

Interest in ancient Egypt has shown one interesting paradox. As a branch of learning, egyptology has become more and more professional, technological, specialized. The amateur and the dilettante can contribute little. On the other hand, the land of the Nile is still the favorite stamping ground for all sorts of mystic and cabalistic cults. The notion that ancient Egypt held some mystery, some potent secret wisdom, continues to delude these earnest people. Probably the "pyramid mystics," who believe that the Great Pyramid is an instrument of prophecy, have never been so numerous as now. The businesslike, objective trend which has characterized the science of egyptology should provide the data and spirit to refute these delusions. For that desired purpose we need interpreters who will stand between the formidable accumulation of facts and the public, making clear just what elements and forces constituted ancient Egypt.

### *Excavation and Exploration*

The modern archeologist working in Egypt knows no unexcavated area which gives assurance of major results. Buried somewhere under the sands there may be archives comparable to the Amarna Letters, scrolls carrying Egyptian law, documents giving astronomical data for dating, unexpected works of art or architecture, a significant village, or intact tombs of high importance. But unless the government expropriates the sites of modern towns like Luxor, there is no place which beckons the excavator with a promise of those results which will effect a significant change in our understanding of Egyptian history. There is still much to learn, especially about the Delta, but the land has been carefully scrutinized for excavation promise. The future lies in amplification of information rather than in revolutionary discoveries. Exciting and valuable

finds will be the more gratefully received because we do not know where to look for them.

Excavation in Egypt has seen three main periods of technique, corresponding roughly to three periods of historical study. The despoiling activities of explorers a century ago lead naturally to the period 1850-1880, when Auguste Mariette freed the more obvious temples and cemeteries. Under the circumstances of his day, his technique was summary and lacked that control which is the essence of scientific method. The approach of the day was largely through the classical and biblical writers, so that there was a certain lack of objectivity about the search.

The second phase was introduced by Petrie about fifty years ago and was characterized by a description of all physical evidence without reference to intrinsic value. At the same time scholars began to recognize that an understanding of ancient Egypt must come from the Egyptian evidence itself, so that they were assembling their philological, artistic, historical, and cultural data with a view to an objective study at first hand. Thus was inaugurated really scientific work.

The last thirty years have seen excavation recognized as a profession with high standards of technique. Detailed examination of objects *in situ*, thoroughgoing methods of recording, and ingenious devices to rescue perishing evidence are giving the world a noteworthy documentation of past days. The same period has been characterized by a critical refinement of the facts and theories which result from archeology. Several names stand honorably in this period. To mention only one, the American egyptologist George Reisner has had a very wide influence by his insistence upon a careful control of materials found.

This recent emphasis arises out of the fact that the

main current of historic Egypt is comparatively well known; our knowledge may be made vividly detailed by an examination of the sources of that great stream, its tributaries along the way, and the many little side eddies and backwaters on its course. Thus the greatest contribution to egyptology since the war lies in the prehistoric period, with the discoveries of the Badarian, Tasian, Faiyumic, and Merimidian cultures, all standing antecedent to the predynastic civilizations already known. We can now outline the course of man in Egypt through the paleolithic, pick up that thread again in the neolithic, and bring the story unbroken down to modern times.

The picture is receiving added light from outside, from the frontiers and from foreign lands. Investigation of Nubia, the Sudan, and the neighboring deserts and oases has been important. Furthermore, no archeological season passes without some important contribution to egyptology arising out of work in Palestine, Syria, or other countries. Such material is important for placing the Nile civilization in its world setting and for an understanding of such problems as cultural and commercial interrelations, Egyptian imperialism, and the Hyksos movement. Barring unexpected finds in Egypt, it is possible that we may learn more about ancient Egypt from such sites as Tell ed-Duweir in Palestine and Byblos in Syria than from any single excavation in the Nile Valley.

A more detailed examination of the material already gained in Egypt has also been of great value. The scientific study by Lucas of ancient materials and industries is a fundamental work. The examination of jewelry by Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams, who resorted to the microscope, has greatly increased our knowledge of ancient technique and has been a landmark for future work. In the field, patient and refined technique has saved for us materials which formerly had to be abandoned. The preservative qualities of the Egyptian soil and climate

promise that such methods will fill out our picture of that civilization in greater detail.

For the future, the prospects are still bright. There will be reworking of material along the lines suggested above. There will be finer analyses for a better understanding of material. For instance, the value of tree-ring dating has been brilliantly established in America. The possibilities of dendrochronology for relative or absolute dating purposes should be investigated for the Near East. A technological analysis of pottery wares might settle the vexed question of the origins of certain types of jars. In the past, the wealth of material has made it unnecessary to resort to such refinements, but they might be applied for greater control of specific problems.

Another fertile field which should be harvested immediately is that of survivals. Civilizations change from century to century, but the life of the common people has gone on essentially the same for millennia—up to the past century. Now important changes are coming in, and survivals from early pharaonic times are dying out. Miss Winifred Blackman has shown that most important material for the understanding of the ancient Egyptian peasant is available through a study of the modern peasant. That study needs furtherance before another generation has passed. In backward districts, in the deserts, in the oases, there should be a wealth of survival for the anthropologist, the egyptologist, the archeologist, and the philologist. It needs careful digging.

We shall never have from ancient Egypt that wealth of recorded detail on social and economic conditions which the cuneiform tablets provide for Mesopotamia. But we can approximate that detailed survey from other sources, using survivals and excavated objects in connection with textual and depicted material. There is still a great work to do.

A less appealing but necessary task is the reworking of sites or cultures. Despite attempts at objectivity, a place excavated forty years ago may present a different picture when dug by a modern egyptologist. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has brilliantly shown that a site may be worked over again with decided profit. That profit results from modern resources and technique, but also from the fact that rechecking another man's results may always bring new elements to light. The probability of diminishing returns has to be balanced off against the chance of new information on the particular problem.

A similar opportunity lies in the attempt to excavate a unit in its entirety. Until Hoelscher uncovered the temple of Medinet Habu for the Oriental Institute, there had been no thorough clearing of a typical temple of pharaonic times. Financial necessity has often restricted our work to a small portion of a site, with the possibility that our evidence may be one-sided and incomplete. It would be perhaps too much to hope that a typical village might be described in its entirety, but one should like to see some such norm against which other investigations might be measured.

This statement on excavation in Egypt may seem somewhat negative. That is because the writer feels that, although much still remains to be unearthed in the Nile Valley, a larger immediate responsibility lies in the work on materials already above ground.

### *Preservation*

The sands of Egypt have provided a splendid blanket of preservation for relics running back through six thousand years. So prodigious has ancient Egypt been that we have been prodigal of her gifts. We have exposed great areas and left them standing to forces of destruction,

without giving them the full recording which they deserve. Sandstone temples buried for thousands of years disintegrate rapidly when exposed to the open air. Wall surfaces may turn to sand within the space of months. Even more serious is the problem of painted surfaces. The monuments of Egypt were normally complete only when covered with a wealth of painted detail. When exposed, these colors disappear very rapidly; a single sandstorm may blast away precious evidence.

In addition to sun, wind, and moisture, there are other active agents of destruction. The peasants visit ancient sites for rich soil to be used as fertilizer, turn the area upside down, and carry off salable antiquities. Standing monuments are attacked to remove stone for building or carved and painted surfaces for sale. Even such guarding as the government provides does not check this human element of destruction.

Obviously much physical preservation is necessary. The guarding service provided by the government should be maintained and extended. Restoration work, such as that carried on in the temples of Karnak, should aim at prevention rather than cure. Exposed surfaces should be protected by glass or railing from incautious hands. A systematized survey should be made to determine what can be done in the way of salvaging existing evidence. The Egyptian department of antiquities does carry on such a survey through its inspectors, but their recommendations may be ignored by forces interested in new rather than known materials.

Meantime epigraphy is doing what little it can to meet the forces of destruction. The early decades of egyptology are especially to be honored because of the proportion of attention devoted to copying, some of it extremely good. Unfortunately, just at the time when photography and greater knowledge of material permitted better copying,



the emphasis shifted to excavation. The Egypt Exploration Society deserves much praise for its return to epigraphy almost fifty years ago, and it has given us a brilliant series of copies in its Archaeological Survey of Egypt. The camera has been a rapid and effective enemy of destruction, so that such publications as Wreszinski's *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* provide a mine of important material. But photography at best is not equal to the human eye, so that hand copying must go on. Such careful reproduction as that effected at ancient Thebes by Mr. and Mrs. Davies and by the Oriental Institute provides the best continuing record of monuments as they stand. The earlier material needs recopying in the light of improved method and understanding. If excavation ceased today in Egypt, there would still be a tremendous amount of recording to undertake. This is a major responsibility of the modern egyptologist.

### *Philological Studies*

In 1837, just a century ago, a German wrote a letter to an Italian stating that a Frenchman was on the right track. This nice example of international scholarship settled doubts about Champollion's decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs and gave us a century of fruitful philological work.

To be sure, understanding of the ancient texts did not spring fully armed from the forehead of Champollion. There was a full period of infancy, and Egyptian philology may be said to have entered the prime of its life only recently. The man who put the study on a sound scholarly basis, Adolf Erman, has just died. Alan Gardiner, who subjected the classical period of the ancient Egyptian language to a fresh and more refined analysis, brought out his *Egyptian Grammar* only ten years ago.

The productivity of the past fifteen years is truly extraordinary. It seems that the researches of the past century have all been maturing at the same time. The great historical dictionary of Egyptian, undertaken forty years ago by the German learned academies, is now well along in its publication stage. Improved dictionaries of personal and geographical names have recently appeared. Notable advances have been made in the difficult problem of the vocalization of the ancient language. Our grasp of the Coptic stages of the language is being strengthened by a competent new dictionary and important grammatical studies. At last the beginning student is armed with most of the essential tools for a working control of the texts.

This does not mean that we have the same facility in Egyptian that classical scholars have in Latin and Greek. It does mean an agreement among scholars as to the essential interpretation of any given text.

There still remain opportunities for added work. We are promised a dictionary of the demotic stages of the language to set beside the hieroglyphic-hieratic and the Coptic. This project, undertaken by a German scholar, the late Wilhelm Spiegelberg, will be carried forward by the American, William Edgerton. Although the classical period of the older language, Middle Egyptian, is well in hand, much remains to be done on its predecessor, Old Egyptian, and its successor, Late Egyptian. For the latter, we look hopefully to the combined resources of the British egyptologist, Alan H. Gardiner, and the Czech scholar, Jaroslav Černý. The researches of Till, Worrell, Vycichl and others are giving us much useful information on the origins, history, and vestiges of Coptic. Here again there is need for immediate work to preserve perishing evidence. A major project which remains as a responsibility for the future is paleography. Useful work has been done on one writing of the language, hieratic, but we need

detailed paleographic study of the hieroglyphic, demotic, and Coptic writings.

As has been stated, the productivity of the past fifteen years has been remarkable. It follows that a great many texts published in the past need reworking in the light of modern knowledge. A scholar using current resources may make a real advance in our understanding of texts which have been known for generations. It therefore appears profitable to egyptologists to work over texts once more and publish detailed reports of these reworkings.

### *Interpretation*

It was natural that in the early days of egyptology books on ancient Egypt should use the Bible and the classical writers as prime sources. Choosing a page at random in the 1878 edition of Wilkinson's "*The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*," we find eight biblical references, seven classical references, and two citations of modern Arab customs to illustrate ancient Egyptian life. The turning point came very soon, so that the Egyptian texts and scenes were permitted to speak for themselves: Erman's "*Aegypten*" of 1885 relied upon native sources as primary and used the biblical and classical material as secondary. The best history of Egypt is still that of Breasted (1905); it was based on a first hand translation of all available historical texts, so that the ancient Egyptians might become articulate on their own behalf.

Thus the first tendency of historical research has been to utilize the great mass of written and depicted material from ancient Egypt. The second tendency has been to bring into the picture an increasing amount of physical materials resulting from excavation. This is in line with a desire to supplement the purely political history with a

cultural history. Egypt does not provide us with a mass of written economic and sociological documents such as are given by the clay tablets of Mesopotamia. To a considerable extent the mass of the population of ancient Egypt remains inarticulate, and inscriptions relate the affairs of kings, nobles, and priests. But there is an increasing respect for the written documents which we do have, illustrated by the great mass of pictorial evidence from tombs and the physical evidence gained from excavation. Thus gradually the cultural development can be blocked out in its larger aspects.

It has been stated that Breasted's history is still the best study of ancient Egypt. This work is more than thirty years old. The story could be rewritten with great gain. But it is a fact that its discussion of pharaonic Egypt under the dynasties would remain essentially the same, with numerous changes in details and illustrations. The major changes would be around the periphery of the subject. The past thirty years have brought us an extraordinary new understanding of prehistoric and predynastic Egypt, so that origins and inter-cultural connections stand out with much added detail. We now have a far better understanding of Egypt's relations with her neighbors, so that this Nile civilization appears as an integral member of a great cultural field. Recent work has given a glimpse of those fundamental currents which created empires and laid them low, which made dynasties powerful and sent them crashing down. The foreground of the picture remains about the same as it was thirty years ago; the background is being filled in with broad sweeps of the brush, connecting the various elements on the canvas into a unity.

For an understanding of the life of the common people materials are gathering slowly. The modern traces which Miss Blackman has studied are important, as are the studies of Egyptian workmen three thousand years ago, resulting from the researches of Dr. Černý. A great diffi-

culty is the fact that these profuse but scattered items need inductive synthesis, a process which is necessarily slow. Much material is available, if we have the patience to tackle it.

Perhaps the mass of material is a great difficulty. No one scholar can comprehend it all. This obstacle is being met by a number of bibliographical studies, such as a topographical bibliography of Egyptian monuments, an analytical listing of Egyptian tomb scenes, detailed studies of particular objects or groups of objects. Such inventories are essential before we can move on to the general statement of what ancient Egypt actually was.

Egyptian chronology has been, as always, a subject of study. The general tendency has been downward toward minimum dates. Before his death, Eduard Meyer shifted the beginning of the First Dynasty from 3400-3200 B. C. (with a central date of about 3315) to 3197 B. C., with a margin of error of one or two centuries. The researches of others, especially Albright and Scharff, have been influential in lowering the tentative date still further. Many egyptologists now use the round number 3000 B. C. as a useful figure for the beginning of the First Dynasty, always remembering that there are no astronomically fixed points earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty, so that a generous margin of error may be allowed. Not only is the tentative date 3000 B. C. in general conformity with the Egyptian evidence, but it accommodates itself better to synchronisms with Babylonia, where the Early Dynastic period shows a parallel development at a similarly tentative date.

It should be emphasized that chronology is not in itself important, but it is important in relative considerations, as when we come to examine interrelations between two cultural regions such as Egypt and Mesopotamia. We are now in a position to study these interrelations with

closer control than ever before. The important result of this study will probably be that there was no single outstanding "cradle of civilization," but that the Near (and possibly Middle) East moved forward as a cultural unity. This recognition will be a notable advance over the rather narrow insistence in the past that this region or that was a test tube of the phenomenon of civilization.

Specific fields of investigation offer brilliant opportunities but also very hard work. The day of the amateur is happily over, and the field is becoming too large and diverse for any egyptologist to pretend to encyclopedic competence. The day of the specialist has arrived. For example, Egyptian art can only be described by someone who has taken the trouble to master the subject. It is now recognized that it is not fair to pre-Greek art to judge it on modern standards, because its purposes are radically different. The entire psychology behind the art is fundamentally foreign to our thought, so that the canon of what was good to the ancient Egyptian eye would not necessarily be good to our eye. Thanks largely to the researches of the German scholar Heinrich Schaefer, we know a great deal about the *how* and a certain amount about the *why* of Egyptian art. Such work makes it very clear that the modern student must first rid his mind of subjective preconceptions and attempt to understand the art on its own inner merits. Scharff has recently pointed out that those periods of Egyptian sculpture which we moderns most admire because of a success in portraiture must have been repellent to the conventional ancient artists for that very reason. In their zeal to bring representations to an ideal norm they believed that beauty is truth but not that truth is beauty.

A similar difficult task confronts the student of religion or philosophy. It is necessary to gather material objectively, and that material comes from Egypt, its neighbor-

ing contemporaneous civilizations, and primitive rites and customs everywhere. Egypt and the other cultures of the ancient Near East must be viewed as phases standing between primitive man and the classical world. Then, within the phase there is continuous change. The complexity and apparent contradictions inherent in Egyptian religion can only be brought into order by careful work, understanding that there is continual development. Twenty-five years ago Breasted brought this out brilliantly in his *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, but his discussion necessarily confined itself to certain definite aspects of the process. We need further study on the relation of Egyptian religion and thought to the primitive, to the pattern of the neighboring contemporaneous countries (especially important for biblical researches), and to the later Greek and Hellenistic patterns. Its importance lies in its relation to a great sweep of thought and feeling coming down from the beginnings to our day.

Enough researches have been cited to show that the great desire is for objectivity. That is a difficult goal in these days of propaganda and nationalistic fervor. But we cannot understand ancient Egypt unless we attempt to apply to that civilization the criteria of its day. Then we may be able to place it in its proper perspective as a part of that great Near Eastern civilization which provided the elements for the birth of Greece and which was the setting in which arose Judaism and ultimately Christianity and Islam.

### *Egypt and the Bible*

Fifty years ago the young Egypt Exploration Fund stated that its first purpose was "to organize expeditions in Egypt, with a view to the elucidation of the History and Arts of Ancient Egypt and the illustration of the

Old Testament narrative, so far as it has to do with Egypt and the Egyptians." A basic interest in the Old Testament narrative is further shown in the fact that the Fund's first expedition memoir was "*The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*." The Fund's "*Atlas of Ancient Egypt*," issued in 1894, devoted over half of its text to the route of the Exodus and the Egyptian geographical names mentioned in the Bible.

Of twenty recent expeditions operating in Egypt only one has any essential relation to the Bible narrative: the excavator of Tanis believes that he is in a position to show that this site was the biblical Rameses. The other nineteen expeditions have been concerned with ancient Egypt *per se*. This would seem to indicate that scholars are no longer interested in the problem of Egypt and the Old Testament. On the other hand, there has never been a period when we were so blessed with material which illustrated the larger phases of the relations between Palestine and the land of the Nile. Fifty years ago we thought of the Hebrews and the Egyptians as two separate peoples, who came into contact at specific times in specific places. We now see them as common and related factors in the progress of ancient civilizations, stimulating each other and in vital relations at all times. The Sojourn and the Exodus are of less importance than the common social, moral, and religious stimuli of the ancient orient.

There is a certain mild irony in the fact that the discoveries in Egypt which have most immediate importance for biblical scholars were made adventitiously, and not through the search for biblical evidence. One need mention only the Amarna Letters, the important accumulations of Greek and Coptic papyri (including the recent find of Manichaean documents in Coptic), the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, and the Teaching of Amene-mope. Such discoveries give promise of important finds



in the future, as much of this material came into view accidentally and not through a carefully planned search in those places which might be presumed to hold the greatest promise. But ultimately even such important single finds are not as important as the conviction gained by the slow gathering and studying of material that the ancient Near East was and is a cultural unity, and that trends and achievements visible in Mesopotamia and in Egypt have their repercussions in neighboring countries. Today Iran is much impressed by the achievements of Kemalist Turkey; Arab nationalistic aspirations in Palestine are a warm concern of the inhabitants of Iraq. The analogy holds for the ancient world: the mythology and the law of the Old Testament are intimately connected with the Babylonian literature; the psalmody, wisdom books, and prophetic works are intimately connected with Egyptian literature. The work of the past century has shown that the ancient Near East must be studied as a whole and that no one country can be understood without reference to the neighboring lands.

It is interesting to see how those modern books which are rooted in the Old Testament narrative for their discussion of the relations between Egypt and Israel are simply covering the same old ground, with the same tangles of contradictory evidence and the same paucity of material from the Egyptian side. On the other hand, much Egyptian material has been found in Palestine in the past twenty years. Beth Shan, Jericho, Beth Shemesh, Tell el-Ajjul, Tell ed-Duweir, and Megiddo have all enriched egyptology. The waters of the Nile washed Byblos on the Phoenician coast. Up in north Syria the extraordinary discoveries at Ras Shamra have shown Egyptian connections as they have shown tremendous importance for Bible studies. From such materials we are receiving the greatest contributions for the study of the relations

between Nile and Jordan. They show clearly how similar in general and how dissimilar in particular the cultures of the two areas were. Here modern research is making its greatest contribution to the study of the background out of which our religions grew.

### *Summary*

As one looks over the entire scope of egyptology it would seem that the foundation has been rather thoroughly laid. At the same time there is an appalling amount of work still to be done. Materials are abundant, and we have comprehended them only in their larger aspects. There is need for detailed and specialized work. The data are available for a cultural history of the ancient Egyptians, but that history cannot be presented by a single man or in a brief space of years. The sources are varied and scattered. This specialist will work on the demotic legal and economic documents, that specialist will study trade relations as indicated by distribution of objects, while another will examine ancient tomb scenes in relation to modern peasant life and survivals.

Gradually it will be possible to build up a documented social, economic, and intellectual history of ancient Egypt. The same presentation will be available from Mesopotamia, with its hundreds of thousands of cuneiform tablets. Parallel indications will be found in other regions. Then the setting of the Bible narrative in the great cultural field of the Near East will be made brilliantly clear.

### *Bibliography*

This is not the place for an extensive bibliography of recent egyptology. Current developments in this field

are summarized in the Belgian periodical *Chronique d'Égypte; bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth* (Bruxelles, 1925—) and the British periodical *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1914—). Recent archeological work in Egypt is noted in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago, beginning with Vol. L, No. 3, 1934), in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, and in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

Two general works are T. Eric Peet, "*The present position of Egyptological studies*" (Oxford, 1934), and Aylward M. Blackman, "*The value of Egyptology in the modern world*" (Liverpool, 1936). Attention might also be called to Peet's "*Egypt and the Old Testament*" (Liverpool, 1922), and his "*Comparative study of the literatures of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia*" (London, 1931), and Blackman's contribution to "*Myth and Ritual*" (ed. by Samuel H. Hooke, London, 1933), as significant items in a mass of literature.

A few books mentioned above should be made more specific. Miss Winifred S. Blackman's study of the modern Egyptian peasant is "*The Fellāhīn of Upper Egypt*" (London, 1927). Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams' work on jewelry is "*New York Historical Society. Catalogue of Egyptian Objects. Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects*" (New York, 1924). For work on Egyptian vocalization see William F. Albright, "*The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*" (New Haven, 1934, with bibliographic notes). Work on Egyptian prehistory is well summarized in Alexander Scharff, "*Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens*" (*Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung*, IV. Berlin, 1931), and the same authority has an interesting discussion on the earliest

relations between Egypt and Mesopotamia in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 71 (1935), p. 89 ff. Heinrich Schaefer's survey of Egyptian art is in "*Von ägyptischer Kunst*" (3. Aufl., Leipzig, 1930). For other references the reader should turn to the journals listed in the first paragraph of this bibliography.

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## TEN OLD BABYLONIAN CONTRACTS

ELIHU GRANT

These tablets in cuneiform writing were purchased from the Yale Collection, through Professor Clay, for the Grant archaeological collections, many years ago. Their provenance is unknown. They have been re-baked at Yale. Probably, at one time, they had cases. The writing is archaic and differs according to the scribes. The language used is the familiar business jargon, mingled Sumerian and Semitic, as found in contracts of the First Dynasty, or period of kings Hammurabi and Samsuiluna.

At the suggestion of Professors Ferris J. Stephens and Franklin Edgerton, the editor was appointed an Honorary Research Fellow in the Department of Oriental Studies at Yale University in 1937. The sincere thanks and appreciation of the editor are felt for the generous aid of Professor Stephens and for the editorial supervision of Professor Stephens and Professor Albrecht Goetze of Yale University.

### Abbreviations and works used:

AfO — Archiv für Orientforschung.

AJSL — American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.

ASKT — Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrift Texte, Haupt, Leipzig, 1881.

BBDGP — Babylonian Business Documents of the Classical Period, E. Grant, 1919.

LC — Lettres et Contrats etc., Thureau-Dangin, Paris, 1910

MVAeG — Mittheilungen Vorderasiatische-Aegypt. Gesellschaft.

OLZ — Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung.

PN — Early Babylonian Personal Names, Ranke, 1905.

RUL — Records from Ur and Larsa, Grice, Yale, 1919.

Schorr — Urkunden des alt-bab. zivil und prozessrechts, Leipzig, 1913.

SL — Sumerisches Lexicon, Deimel, Rome, 1925 etc.

Smith — Cuneiform Documents in Smith College Library, Elihu Grant, Haverford, 1918.

UMBS — University (Pennsylvania) Museum, Babylonian Section.

VS — Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, 1912 etc.

ZA — Zeitschrift Assyriologie, von Soden.



1. 1 SAR é-ki-gál-la  
da zé-ba-na-qar-ra-ad  
ù da a-ḥu-ni  
sag-bi i-lí-tu-ra-am  
5. sag-II<sup>ham</sup> ma-nu-um-ba-lum-ilim  
kí a-ḥu-ni dumu a-bi-ia  
mzé-ba-na-qar-ra-ad ù a-ḥa-tum  
in-ši-šám  
šám-til-la-bi-šè  
10. 10 gín kubabbar  
in-na-lal  
u<sub>4</sub>-kur-šè enim-nu-gá-gá-a  
mu d<sup>l</sup>ugal-már-da  
ù ia-am-si-AN  
15. in-pàd  
ig[i x-x]-i  
igi [rī]-iṣ-ir-ra dumu i-lí-da-na-ni  
igi en-num-be-lí dumu nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>IM  
igi ar-wi-um dub-sar  
20 itu še-gur<sub>10</sub>-kud  
mu ús-sa-ús-sa-a-bi  
bára <sup>d</sup>en-zu(?) -ra
- One sar unoccupied house-lot,  
alongside Zebānā-qarrād  
and alongside Aḥuni,  
its end (on) Ili-tūram,  
a second end (on) Mannum-balum-  
ilim.  
From Aḥuni the son of Abiya,  
Zebānā-qarrād and Aḥatum  
(have) purchased.  
For its full price,  
ten gín of silver  
(they have) paid to him.  
That in the future he will not make  
complaint,  
by Lugal-Marda  
and Yamsi-AN,  
he swore.  
Before -x-x- i-(?)  
before Rīsh-Irra son of Ili-danāni,  
before Ennum-bēlī son of Nūr-Adad,  
before Arwium a scribe,  
The month She-gur-kud, (Addarum)  
(the second) year after  
the shrine of the God Sīn was-

- 1) e-ki-gal-la is contrasted with e-du-a as "unbebautes" is contrasted with "bebautes" A "baugrund" i. e. a lot suitable for building See Ungnad, *Briefe*, p. 312 But see now, Goetze *AJSL*, LII, 3, April 1936, p. 150 f, note 51 on p. 151  
2) Zebana, a divine name? Again in line 7.  
5) The name means "Who is without a god?" It is a question of improbability.  
8) and 11) Notice the singular verbs.  
13) The oath here as well as in tablets nos. 2 and 10, by Lugal-Marda, links these as perhaps in the same king's reign Yamsi-AN. On the oath see article *Ešd* by San Nicolo in *Real-lexikon der Assyriol.*, 2nd Band, 4th Lieferung, No. 2 on page 307  
14) The name, Yamsi-AN, as Jamsi-AN, appears as a non-royal name in Chiera, and in Scheil, *Sippar* 35·3 quoted by Theo Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, pp. 28 and 78  
19) The scribe as last witness, found frequently. There are traces of indistinct seal impressions probably of Aḥuni son of Abiyah, also of fragments of a case stuck on the tablet.

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1. eše gán a-šà  
gú-íd IM. <sup>d</sup>MUŠ  
da nu-úr-ištar  
da <sup>d</sup>sin-li-di-iš  
5. sag i-li-aš-ra-ni  
<sup>m</sup>ki-su-tu-um  
<sup>m</sup>si-la-šu-ba (la) -iú  
<sup>m</sup>tab-ni-ištar  
<sup>m</sup>ilu-šu-i-bi-šu  
10. ma-ba-nu-ri  
dumu ha-li-lum  
[<sup>d</sup>sin-l]i-di-iš  
[in-ši-in]-šám  
1/3 ma-na kubabbar  
15. šám-til-la-ni-šè  
in-na-lal  
u<sub>4</sub>-kur-šè enum-nu-gá-gá  
mu <sup>d</sup>lugal-már-da  
ù mu ya-am-si-AN  
20. in-pàd-dè-meš  
igi ri-ma-ia dumu šu-den-lil  
igi ri-iš-lu-lu dumu <sup>d</sup>da-gán-ma-lik  
igi šu-la-nu-um dumu ta-ta-KI  
igi na-bi-i-li-šu dumu ar-na-bu-um  
25. igi šu-nu-i-lu-um dumu ilu-ma-lik  
igi é-tu-ra-NI-za dub-sar  
itu zag-zag-gar  
mu ya-am-si-AN lugal  
Six eku of field  
bordering the canal IM MUSH,  
adjoining Nūr-Ishtar (also)  
adjoining Sin-Lidish  
(and) an end (on) Ilī-ashranni,  
(from these) Kisutum,  
Sillashu-ba (lā) -tu,  
Tabni-Ishtar,  
Ilshu-ibīshu,  
Abanūri,  
son(s ?) of Ḫalilum,  
Sin-lidish  
(has) purchased.  
1/3 of a mine of silver  
for its full purchase price  
he has paid to them.  
That at no future time will he make  
complaint  
by Lugal-Marda  
and Yamsi-AN  
they have sworn.  
Before Rīmaya son of Shu-Enlil,  
before Rīsh-Lulu son of Dagān-  
malik,  
before Shulānum son of Tata-KI,  
before Nabī-ilīshu son of Arnabum,  
before Shunu-ilum son of Ilu-malik,  
before Etura-NIza a scribe.  
Month Bara-zag-gar,  
(scribe wrote "zag-zag-gar")  
Year (when) Yamsi-AN (became)  
king.

2) On <sup>d</sup>MUŠ cf. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 60 f.

4) See von Soden, ZA, NF 6, 177 f.

6) May there have been a misplacing of the *ki*, or its omission?

12) Evidently the purchaser. 16) "na" for "ne"?

19) and 28) New royal name as in nos 1 and 10?

22) Note the West Semitic, or East Canaanitish, names in these tablets as a possible indication of site. The "dagan-" names, etc.

24) Arnabum (*annabu*, hare).

26) Again, the scribe is the last named witness.

27) There are three impressions of the same seal, *si-la-šu-ba-lū-īú tab-ni-ištar dumu ha-li-* . . . so we restore the syllable "la" to the name in the 7th line. On the subject of oath, see San Nicolo, *Schlussklauseln*, p. 54. The tablet is marked by excellent ruling of lines and artistic script.

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1. 2 eblēn 2 ikēn eqlam 1-ta ḥarrān Fourteen iku of field on the road to  
<sup>u</sup>x-x-a x-x-a (?)  
 eql <sup>u</sup>-sā-du-um the field of Usadum  
 itti er-še-tum-ra-bi-a-at aḥatišu from Ersetum-rabi'at his sister  
 (SAL + KÜ-a-ni)  
 u il-šu-ib-ni-šu mārišu and Ilshu-ibnīshu his son  
 (dumu-a-ni)
5. <sup>m</sup>šum-ma-ilum-lā-<sup>u</sup>šamaš Shumma-ilum-lā-Shamash  
 a-na šattim 1<sup>ham</sup> ana ša-lu-uš for a year, on third(s)  
 u-še-še has leased.  
 ma-ia-ri 1-ma-ḥa-aš (he shall) break up,  
 1-ša-ka-ak 1-ri-iš harrow (and) cultivate.
10. 1-na li-ib-bi 2 ikēn šamaššammam Should he devote 2 iku of it to  
 sesame oil  
 i-pu-šu-ma ni-si-iḥ šamaššammim (there shall be) a separate account  
 of the sesame;  
 ma-ia-ri 1-ma-ḥa-aš (this also) he shall break up,  
 1-ša-ka-ak 1-ri-iš harrow (and) cultivate.  
 maḥar <sup>u</sup>da-gan-na-še-er ra-bi- Before Dagān-nāšer the prefe[ct].  
 [a-nim?]
15. maḥar a-di-du-um before Adidum,  
 maḥar a-wi-il-<sup>u</sup>na-bi-um before Awil-Nabium,  
 maḥar <sup>u</sup>šamaš-i-din-nam iššakim before Shamash-idinnam the steward,  
 maḥar <sup>u</sup>šamaš-i-din-nam mūr before Shamash-idinnam son of  
<sup>u</sup>na-bi-um-ma-līk Nabium-malik,  
 maḥar na-bi-i-lī-šu mūr before Nabī-ilishu son of Abiyatum.  
<sup>a</sup>-bi-ia-tum
20. waraḥ Ayyarum umum 1<sup>ham</sup> Month Ayyarum the 1st day  
 mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e Year (when) Samsuiluna the king  
 x- šu-giš-nir gibil-in [ weapon [   
 dza-mā-mā dinnana-bi-da- [ in the (temples) of the gods  
 Zamama and Ishtar
- 16 alan-bi sixteen statues.

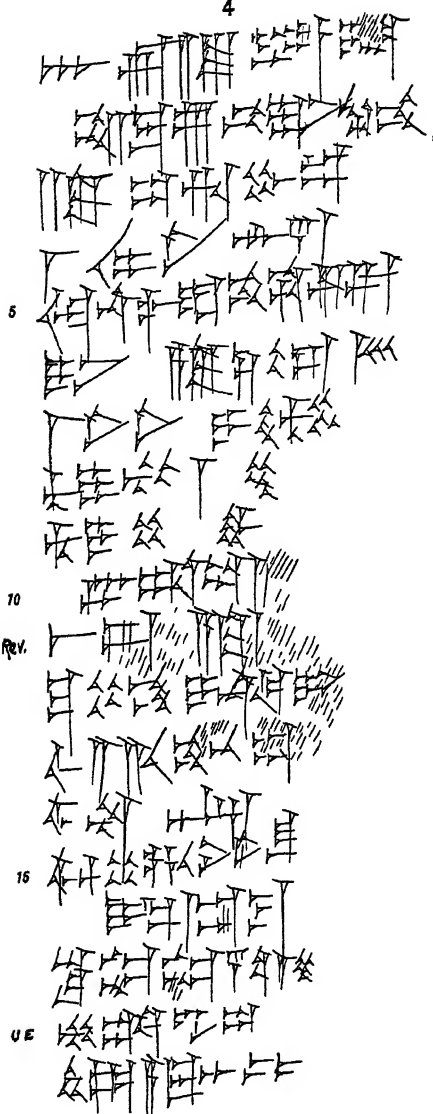
2) On the proper name, cf. *RUL* p. 40 and Ranke, *PN* p. 173

6) Note the use of the signs for *ana* and "nam" in same line.

8) See Koschaker, *Neu-Keil. Urkunden aus Amarna Zeit*, Leipzig 1928, p. 133 f.

15) Possibility of "Asadum." See "Beamter" in Ebeling, *Real-lexicon*, 1st band

21) A variant. Cf. T-D, *Lett. et Contr.*, no 140. Cf. the 22nd year. Defective sealings appear on this tablet.



1. 3 *ikū eqlam* GU.UN *i-din-ūšamaš* Three iku of field, revenues to  
dam-gar Idin-Shamash merchant,  
*kišād nār u-bi-in* (or, i-KAK?) bordering the canal of Ubin,  
*eḡel ta-ri-bu-um* the field of Taribum,  
*mšilli-ūštar* (from) Šilli-Ishtar  
5. *ū na-wi-ra-am-ša-ru-ur* and Nawiram-sharūr,  
*lugal a-ša-ga-ḡe<sub>13</sub>-meš* in charge of the field,  
*mī-lī-i-din-nam* Ili-idinnam  
*ana šattim 1<sup>kam</sup>* for one year  
*ana še-im* for grain (as rent)  
10. *ib-ta-è-a (ušeše)* has leased  
*1 iku eqlim* (for each) iku of field  
*30 qa še-am i-na-di-in* 30 ka of grain he will give  
*maḡar a-ḡa-am-nu-ia* Before Aḡamnuta,  
*maḡar warad-ūštar* before Warad-Ishtar,  
15. *maḡar zi-kir-i-lī-šu* before Zikir-ilishu,  
*mar-GĀ-DUB-BA* archivist.  
*warab Abum amum 2<sup>kam</sup>* Month Abum, second day,  
*mu urudu-ki-lugal-gub-* (In the) year (when) the royal  
bronze standard  
*ḡur-sag iddi-dili-bi* of the mountains and rivers,

An infrequently ruled tablet written in a sprawling script. Obscure seals.

- 9) Usually such contracts would read *ana biltim*. The rent in grain seems low. See Schorr, page 169. Cf. this with the share plan  
16) See Paul Kraus, *MVAeG*, XXXV (1), p. 64. Cf. Smith College tablet, 255: 14. This last witness is probably the substitute of the frequently mentioned "dub-sar."

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|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. 78 ganám <sup>ba</sup>                     | Seventy-eight ewes,                   |
| 4 udu-nitá <sup>ba</sup>                      | four male sheep,                      |
| 50 sal-silá DU                                | fifty female lambs . . . ,            |
| 53 udu DU                                     | fifty-three sheep . . . ,             |
| 5. šu-nigin 1 me, 60, 20, 5 ganám             | a total of 185 male and female        |
| udu <sup>ba</sup>                             | sheep:                                |
| 40 uz <sup>ba</sup>                           | forty goats,                          |
| 1 máš-gal                                     | one large kid,                        |
| 34 sal-ÁŠ-GAR <sup>ba</sup> ( <i>unīqum</i> ) | thirty-four female goats of one year, |
| 10 maš DU <sup>ba</sup>                       | ten kids . . . ;                      |
| 10. šu-nigin 60, 20, 5 uz <sup>ba</sup>       | a total of 85 goats;                  |
| 2 me, 60, 10, udub <sup>a</sup> ù uz          | (in all) 270 sheep and goats,         |
| ša <sup>u</sup> šin-ša-mu-uḫ                  | belonging to Šin-shamuḫ,              |
| a-na mda-da-a-ib-qà                           | to Dada-ibqa                          |
| m <sup>u</sup> kab-ta-ba-ni                   | Kabta-banī                            |
| 15. ù i-li-tu-ra-am                           | and Ili-tūram                         |
| kaṣarri-šu                                    | his shepherd-boy.                     |
| maḫar u-bar-ru-m mār šu-pi-ša                 | Before Ubarrum son of Šūpisha,        |
| maḫar ib-ni- <sup>u</sup> marduk              | before Ibnī-Marduk                    |
| warah Dūzum ūmum 20 <sup>kam</sup>            | Month, Dūzum, 20th day,               |
| 20. mu bād urī <sup>ka</sup>                  | year of the destruction of the        |
| ù unug <sup>ka</sup> mu-un-ḫūl                | wall(s) of Ur and Uruk.               |

Lists such as this are found in *BBDGP* 1919, Nos. 61 and 71, see Koschaker and Ungnad, *Hammurabi Gesetz*, Nos 1505 and 1506. This is a contract for custody, *hütungsvertrag*.

There is one ruled line atop the witness line (17) Written in large, bold script on a tablet unnecessarily large compared with the rest of the series.

3) DU, see Landsberger, *AfO* 10, 156.

12) The animals belonged to Šin-shamuḫ.

13) They were entrusted to Dada and Kabta-banī and to the latter's shepherd-boy.

16) See Deimel, *SL* 15, 106.

No verb is expressed (*nadanu*, or *paqadu*)

See Lautner, *Alt-bab. Personenmiete*, 235.

Remains of obscure name sealings on this tablet.

Yanhuang Chunqiu

鐵樹少壯

王國維

皇天不弔

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下生南文以人通里之西及定

全真道王重阳祖师

生肌散

五世受王

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原裝全

15 天竺地黃丸

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1. 1  $\frac{2}{3}$  ma-na 5 gín kubabbar One and two-thirds mines, five gin  
of silver
- ki. *ir-ra-ba-mi* .ta from Irra-banī  
*i-ku-pi-ir-ra* Ikū(n)-pī-Irra  
*šu-ba-an-ti* has received.
5. *ri-iš-ir-ra* dumu-ni Rish-Irra, his son,  
*m dšin-še-mi* dumu-ni Sin-shemī, his son,  
*ù nu-ur-dkab-ta* sag-nitá and Nūr-Kabta, a slave,  
*k[ù-t]a-gub-ba* are the pledge for the silver.  
*igi ur-dnin-su<sub>5</sub>-an-na* dam-gàr Before Ur-Nin-suanna the merchant,  
10. *igi a-ḥa-nu-ta* šu-i before Aḥanuta the barber,  
*igi i-bi-iq-ištar* dumu-awil-dšin before Ibiq-Ishtar son of Awil-Sin  
*igi ušin-iš-me-a-mi* dub-sar before Sin-ishme'anni the scribe,  
*igi na-bi-ušin* dumu *ib-la-a-nu-um* before Nabī-Sin son of Iblānum.  
*itu še-gur<sub>10</sub>-kud* Month She-gur-kud (Addarum)  
15. *mu bād ši-lī-dnin-urta<sup>ki</sup>* Year when the wall named  
Šilli-Ninurta  
ba-dù was built.

7) See Deimel, *Pantheon*, no 1661.

sagnita, male slave, see Deimel, *SL* 115, 12· 50, 4.

8) For *kù-ta-gub-ba* = *ma-an-za-za-nu* (pledge) see *ASKT* p. 60: 21.  
Cf *UMBS*, XIII: 39

12) Next to the last witness is a scribe, whether the one who wrote this document, or not?

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1. *eblum 4 ikū kīrūm*  
*kīrūm abul-ištar*  
*ši-ib-ta-at ma-bil-<sup>u</sup>šamaš*  
*ù a-ba-tum*  
 5. *um-ma a-ba-tum-ma*  
*ù-us-sà-al-li-im-šu*  
*it-ti-šu u-ul a-ša-ba-at*  
*kīr ma-bil-<sup>u</sup>šamaš*  
*gu-um-mu-ur*  
 10. *i-na ši-tu-ul-tim*  
*ma-du-tim*  
*kīrām a-na a-bil-<sup>u</sup>šamaš*  
*ù-ga-am-mi-ru*  
*maḥar a-ḥu-wa-qar mār ra-bu-<sup>u</sup>šin*  
 15. *maḥar a-ḥu-wa-qar mār u-ga-*  
*<sup>u</sup>šamaš*  
*maḥar a-da-an-ni-a mār*  
*ma-āš-kum*  
*maḥar šilli-<sup>u</sup>adad*  
*maḥar a-ḥu-ni*  
*maḥar a-da-an-ni-a*  
 20. *warah dūzum ūmum 9<sup>kam</sup>*  
*mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e*  
*bād kiš<sup>ka</sup>-a mu-un-dú-a*  
*ù bād sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal*  
*ma-da wa-ru-ma*  
 25. *bí-in-dím-ma*
- Ten iku of garden,  
 the garden of the Gate of Ishtar,  
 temporary possession of  
 Abil-Shamash  
 and Abatum  
 Declares Abatum,  
 "I have made friendly compact  
 with him,  
 with him I shall not contend;  
 (thus) is the garden of Abil-Shamash  
 completely."  
 In consultation  
 with many  
 the garden for Abil-Shamash  
 they have confirmed.  
 Before Aḥu-wakar son of Rabū-Sin,  
 before Aḥu-wakar son of  
 Uga-Shamash,  
 before Adannia, son of Mashkum,  
 before Šilli-Adad,  
 before Aḥuni,  
 before Adannia,  
 Month, Dūzum the ninth day.  
 Year (when) Samsuiluna the king  
 the wall of Kish has made  
 (and) the wall of Samsuiluna the  
 king  
 in the land of Warum  
 he built.

9) and 10) See Kraus, *MVAeG*, XXXVI, 207, on *šitulum* and on *gu-um-mu-ur* cf. Schorr, 298. 17 and 261-36

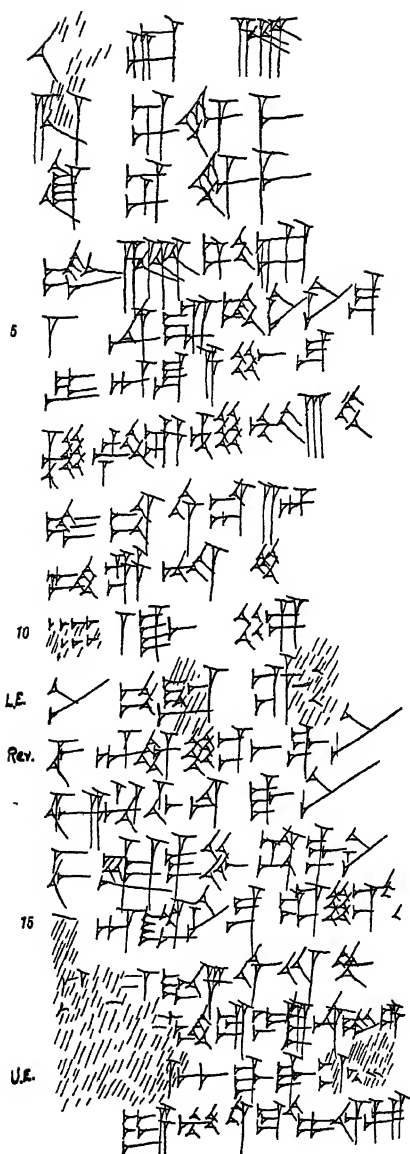
11) *ina . . . mūdūtim*, see Lautner, *alt-bab. Personenrechte*, p 192, note 565.

13) Cf for similar procedure, Walther, *Das altbabylonischen Gerichtswesen*; Lautner, *Die richterliche Entscheidung und die Streitbeendigung im altbabylonischen Prozessrechte*, and Cuq, *Etudes sur Droit Babylonien*

15) For Uga name cf. Thureau-Dangin, *LC* p 49 and Grice, *RUL* p. 39

24) For the country named see *AfO*, IX, p. 243 and for its mention in a date formula *OLZ*, XIII, p 194.

Defective seal impressions.



1. 1 bur a-šà  
a-šà *si-im-me*  
ki *si-im-me*  
ugal ašà-ga-gé  
5. *mna-ra-am-i-li-šu*  
dumu *ilu-šu-a-bu-šu*  
nam gun nam mu 3<sup>kam</sup>  
ib-ta-è-àm  
gun mu 1<sup>kam</sup>  
10. 7 (or, 8) gur 1 PI 4 ban še-gur 7 (or, 8) gur, 1 pi, 40 ka grain  
measured  
i-ág-e  
igi <sup>u</sup>adad-šar-rum  
GAL KAK (*rab ziqqati*)  
igi a-hu-ši-na GAL.KAK  
igi ka-ás-pu-ša GAL.KAK  
15. igi *ilu-da-ni-šu* dub-sar  
itu bára-zag-gar ud 21<sup>kam</sup>  
mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e  
b]ád <sup>du-du</sup>gal-gal-la  
ia-mu-ut-ba-lum hul  
One bur of field;  
the field of Simme,  
from Simme,  
owner of the field,  
Narām-ilishu,  
son of Ilushu-abushu,  
for a fixed rent for three years  
has leased.  
(As) a fixed rent (per) year  
he shall measure out  
Before Adad Sharrum the raban,  
before Ahushina the raban,  
before Kaspusha the raban,  
before Iludannishu the scribe.  
Month Bara-zag-gar, the 21st day,  
Year (of) Samsuiluna the king  
(when) the great walls  
of Yamutbalum were destroyed.

- 1) Numeral, see Deimal *SL* 411, 38.  
8) Note ending "am," emphatic?  
10) See Deimal *SL* 480, 15b and cf. Poebel *Sum. Gram.* 111 f.  
12) This title is common in Neo-Babylonian. Equals "*rab ziqqati*" cf. *Real-Lex. der Assy.* under "Beamter" (line 450) also J. Lewy, *Die Kültepe-Texte der Sammlung Hahn*, page 24.  
15) The scribe is the last witness.  
19) Abbreviated form of the verb  
There are indistinct seal impressions on the tablet.

5  
 10  
 15  
 20  
 U.E.

1. 9 *ikī kirām*  
*š1-bi-ut m<sub>1</sub>a-s1-a-ra-aḫ-t1*  
*ù ḫu-ub-tum*  
*kir āl ra-ba-ba-a-i<sup>1</sup>*  
 One half gan of garden,  
 estate of Yaši-araḫti  
 and Ḫubtum,  
 a garden in the Rababai district,  
 enclosure bordering (on) the fisher-
5. *u-ru uš ŠU.HA kišād nār*  
*kun(?) -nu-uḫ-š1*  
 men on the bank of the canal  
 Kun(?) -nuḫ-š1  
*itti mār-<sup>u</sup>šamaš*  
*m<sub>1</sub>sin-i-din-nam*  
*m<sub>1</sub>ta-ri-ba-tum mār m<sub>1</sub>nu-ur-ilu*  
*m<sup>u</sup>šin-a-ḫa-i-din-nam*  
 from Mār-Shamash  
 Sîn-idinnam,  
 Taribatum son of Nūr-ilu,  
 Sîn-aḫa-idinnam,  
 Iddin-Ishtar and others,  
 Adad(?) -rabi  
 and Iddin-ili, a slave, not present,  
 for expert cultivation has rented,  
 to be accountable for fertilization,  
 and the garden
10. *m<sub>1</sub>-din-ištar ù ma-du-tim*  
*m<sup>u</sup>adad(?) ra-bi*  
*ù i-din-ili SAG la ma-ḫa-ar*  
*a-na nig-gar-ra ib-ta-è-a*  
*a-na pi-ḫa-at kirīm ru-uk-ku-bi*  
 They have made friendly compact  
 before Aḫu(w)atum,  
 before Sîn-inguranni.  
 Month Ṭebētum, the 18th day.  
 Year (when) Samsuiluna the king  
 by the mighty power  
 of En-lil given.
15. *ù kirīm ak-š1*  
*i-ša-al-lu-š1-nu-ti*  
*maḫar a-ḫu-ú-a-tum*  
*maḫar <sup>u</sup>šin-im-gur-an-ni*  
*waraḫ ṭebētum umum 18<sup>kam</sup>*  
 Month Ṭebētum, the 18th day.
20. *mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal*  
*a-kal-ruš-ra*  
*en-lil-lá ma-an-sum-ma-ta*  
 Year (when) Samsuiluna the king  
 by the mighty power  
 of En-lil given.

2) Compare tablet no. 7, line 3 For PN cf. Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer* p. 30

5) *u-ru*, cf. Bezold, *Glossar*, 63.

*uš*, "side," Deimel *SL* 211, 14

ŠU HA *kišad nār*, cf. phrase quoted by Deimel, *SL* 354, 411.

13) *a-na "nig-gar-"* etc equals *a-na šukunnēm*, cf. Landsberger, *ana ittiš1u*, p. 196 ff.

14) *a-na pi-ḫa-at* etc see Landsberger, *ibid*, 127 and see page 133.

15) equals Semitic *es1 na-ak-s1*, see Landsberger, *ibid*.

16) present future of *ša'ālum*.

Consult farther under "Gartenpacht" in Kohler (Koschaker-)

Ungnad No. 1725

Traces of sealing on this tablet

1 冊 綴 冊 綴 冊  
 2 綴 綴 綴 綴  
 3 綴 綴 綴 綴  
 4 綴 綴 綴 綴  
 5 綴 綴 綴 綴  
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1 冊 綴 冊  
 2 綴 綴 綴 綴



1. 16 šar giš-šar gu[b-ba]  
da pūzur-bu-[?ne-ne]  
ù da d<sup>sin</sup>-na-da  
sag-bi pa, d<sup>nn</sup>-[  
5. NIG(šá) ki d<sup>sin</sup>-li-di-iš ri-iš-ilu which with Sin-lidish, Rish-ilu  
i-zu-zu divided:  
ki ri-iš-ilu from Rish-ilu  
m d<sup>sin</sup>-li-di-iš in-ši-šám Sin-lidish has bought  
10 gin kubabbar in-na-lal 10 gin of silver he has paid to him.  
u-kur-še enum-nu-gá-[g]á-a That in the future he will not  
make complaint
10. mu d<sup>lugal</sup>-már-da by Lugal-Marda  
ù mu lugal-b[1] and by his king  
in-pàd he swore.  
igi d<sup>sin</sup>-pí-la-ab ŠEŠ-A-  
igi é-hur-sag-ya-ta-ma before E-hursag-yatama,  
15. igi d<sup>na</sup>-ru-na-da dumu before Nāru-nāda son of  
d<sup>urash</sup>-en-nūm Urash-enum,  
igi lu-lu-ba-ni dub-sar before Lulu-bani the scribe.  
itu bára-zag-gar Month Bara-zag-gar,  
mu ús-sa den-lil ki (or, nibru<sup>k</sup>) Year after Nippur  
ki-bi-gi<sub>4</sub> was re-established.

This is an artistically written tablet with a carefully ruled surface.

- 4) pa<sub>3</sub> for *palgu* (constr. *palag*) "canal."  
5) For NIG in relative clauses, see Poebel, *Grammar* § 272 and for the use of šá instead of ša see Grant, *Bab. Mus. Doc. Classical Period*, nos 61 and 71.  
10) The oath resembles the forms in tablets no 1 and 2. Note also the repetition of *mu* as in no. 2, 18 f. This may be a Yamsi-AN date. Cf. Chiera's nos. 69 and 73 (Irra-imiti and Warad-Sin). Cf. 28, 29, 30th years of Samsuiluna.  
15) "Nāru-nāda" may be read "Id-nāda."  
16) The scribe is the last witness  
Seal of Rish-ilu son of Ur-šš d<sup>ba</sup>-u (cf. Huber, *Personnamen*, Leipzig, 1907), several times.

















